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EDITORIAL

As the Chairman of the Prison Commission writes, their present building programme is the largest to be undertaken in this country for a century. There has indeed been nothing even remotely resembling it in size and importance since the days when, in the middle of the nineteenth century, after the erection of Pentonville fifty-four other prisons were built on the same pattern. In the intervening period, with a few exceptions such as Wormwood Scrubs, Camp Hill and a few years ago Everthorpe, the problem of housing prisoners and Borstal boys and girls was mainly tackled by the re-opening of old, disused prisons, the taking over of large country houses or, favoured by modern trends in penology, by establishing more and more open institutions. With the exception of the last-mentioned category, these were more often than not mere makeshift arrangements to fill the gap until the money would be forthcoming for something more ambitious. Any comprehensive building programme of this kind, which cannot simply rely on outmoded traditions inherited from the past, has to face most difficult penological and technical problems, and it is the hope of the Editors that the following series of articles may in a modest way contribute to their understanding and eventual solution. We have invited four writers to express their views: first, the Chairman of the Prison Commission to present the official picture, followed by an American penologist, Professor Johnston, who has in recent years made a comprehensive study of the historical and comparative aspects of the matter, and by Mr. Fairweather and Mr. Madge who look at the

matter from the point of view of the private architect particularly knowledgeable on and interested in the design of prison buildings and anxious to offer expert advice to those responsible for the shaping of the new programme. It had to be expected that the private, independent, architect would not find himself in complete agreement with the results of the combined efforts of the Government Departments concerned, and the criticisms offered by these two contributors may possibly lead to a re-thinking of certain features of the designs. As Mr. Madge writes, lack of experience resulting from past inactivity has led to a state of affairs where " no one has been adequately prepared for the massive prison building programme outlined by Mr. Peterson," and as stressed by both architects there is here apparently a great need for more information, research and experimentation.

THE PRISON BUILDING PROGRAMME

A. W. PETERSON (*London*)

"Any building should express a purpose and a spirit. If a prison is to be merely a place where dangerous men are to be safely detained, it should convey the sense of security, just as barracks indicate orderliness and a cathedral suggests aspiration. The earliest idea of prison was primarily one of detention—cheap, safe and uncomfortable; therefore old prisons tend to be a honeycomb of small cells from which escape is impossible." (SIR ALEXANDER PATERSON in a paper on prison construction.)

THE purpose and spirit of English prisons have changed beyond recognition since the days when most of them were built. For many years new ideas of penal treatment have had to be developed either in open establishments or in buildings described in the White Paper on Penal Practice in a Changing Society as "built 100 years or more ago to serve the purposes of solitary confinement, treadmill hard labour and brutal repression."

Since the end of the war a large number of open prisons and borstals have been added to the system and others are in preparation. A start has also been made in developing a system of detention centres for young offenders with the opening of five senior centres and two junior centres. Much work has been done to improve the existing secure prisons and to adapt them to their new functions. It has been necessary to provide workshops, classrooms, gymnasia, libraries, arrangements for meals and association, visiting rooms, modern hospital facilities, office accommodation for a growing variety of staff and all the other increasing requirements of a modern régime. So during the last half century the simple design of these old buildings has become obscured by a mass of new buildings which have had to be fitted in, by makeshift arrangements, within the limited space inside the prison wall. The effect of this is shown in the aerial photograph of Armley Prison, Leeds (Plate 1), where most of the open spaces which originally existed between the prison buildings and the wall have been filled; on the left of the photograph there can be seen a number of workshops which have been attached

to the outside of the security wall because there was no room to build them inside.

Since the end of World War II financial considerations have prevented the building of more than one new secure establishment, at Everthorpe in Yorkshire. This was completed in 1958 and was the second new establishment to be built in England during the present century.

The building programme announced in the White Paper, which is now well under way, is, then, the largest to be undertaken in this country for 100 years. It includes several types of specialised establishments required for the development of modern methods of penal treatment, and will incorporate novel features of planning and design which are the result of detailed study by a Development Group consisting of representatives of the Prison Commission and the Ministry of Works. It is with these that this article is mainly concerned.

General Planning Considerations

In the design of penal establishments there are three considerations of paramount importance—security, functional efficiency and economy. These may conflict with one another, and it is in the resolution of these conflicts that the main problems of planning arise. For example, special security measures involve high building costs, and the objective must be to ensure that the degree of security, while no less effective than that provided by the traditional type of building, is not excessive having regard to the purpose for which the establishment is intended. The design must provide not only against the risk of escape, but also for internal security which is required for the management of inmates and the protection of the staff. At the same time the requirements of internal security must be balanced against the functional needs of the establishment. Modern methods of penal treatment are based on the principle that a man cannot be led to adjust himself to the demands of society by depriving him of every form of social experience while he is in prison. Freedom of association between inmates and a régime which provides opportunities for varied activities with some freedom of choice for the individual inmate provide the conditions within which his ability

to change himself for the better can be tested and developed. In a modern training prison there needs to be adequate provision for communal activities planned in such a way that the inmates can have free access to them under the control of the staff and within a secure perimeter.

Design of Cells

One factor which has greatly influenced the design is the function of the individual cell in a modern prison. This is no longer a place in which the prisoner will eat his meals and do his work; nor will he be locked in his cell for long periods during the day. The cell is primarily a place in which he sleeps, and need not therefore be as large as the cells of earlier prisons. A new design of cell was adopted by the Development Group after very detailed study, which included the building of a full-scale model (Plate 3). The floor space measures 8 ft. 3 ins. × 7 ft. 1½ ins., as against 10 ft. × 7 ft. at Everthorpe Prison, but the change in the shape of the cell and improvements in the design of cell furniture have made it possible to make more effective use of the floor space, and the space between the bed and the desk is increased. In the new cell there will be a new and larger type of window in which the security bars are incorporated in the frame of the window itself, thus making it possible to dispense with external bars. The security bars will be made of manganese steel, and the design of the window as a single unit, besides improving its appearance both from the inside and the outside, will provide much greater security than the traditional type of window. The wall finishes and floor coverings make use of modern materials which are economic in maintenance but give a better appearance. The new cell is designed for occupation by one prisoner only, and could not be used to house three prisoners. (For a cell at Pentonville see Plate 4.)

Careful consideration was given to the possibility of providing washbasins and water closets in individual cells, but it was decided that the considerable expense involved would not be justified in this type of prison, in which men will not normally be locked in their cells for long periods.

Although the reduction in the cost of the individual cell is small,

the new design will result in substantial economies in the new programme, since the cell will be multiplied many thousands of times in the course of the programme.

Design of Cell Block

As the cells in the new prisons will be used only as sleeping accommodation, it is no longer necessary that they should be arranged in long wings, sometimes four or five storeys high, which can be observed from the centre of the prison. This arrangement, which is the standard plan of the Victorian prison, creates a very gloomy impression and makes it difficult to provide efficient heating, lighting and ventilation. Noises and smells penetrate to every quarter of the prison.

In the modern type of training prison what is required is effective supervision of the movement of prisoners to and from their cells and during periods when they are engaged in various activities within the prison. This can be arranged without difficulty in a normal type of building in which each storey has a solid floor. This type of construction is cheaper than the traditional open-hall design and makes it possible to provide better lighting and ventilation and to reduce heat loss and the amount of noise. The standard type of cell block will therefore consist of four storeys, of which the upper three provide sleeping accommodation for a total of seventy-six men, and the ground floor is entirely devoted to association rooms, offices for the staff and a sanitary annexe, including baths and showers. The cell block is T-shaped, and most of the accommodation in the upper three storeys is in cells, divided into groups of seven or ten, each of which occupies one of the three short landings which meet at the centre, where there is a sanitary annexe. On each of the third and fourth floors there is one dormitory for eight men, with its own sanitary recess which the prisoners will be able to use during the night without summoning an officer. The provision of dormitories is intended as an experiment, and their number could be increased without difficulty if that seems desirable. It is, however, likely that in a training prison for recidivists with fairly long sentences a high proportion of cellular accommodation will be needed.

The rooms on the ground floor of each cell block include offices

for an assistant governor and house officer, and three rooms for the use of prisoners, one of which will be a quiet room.

Planning of the Establishment

From the point of view of prison management the most important planning requirement is that the whole of the accommodation regularly used by prisoners should be designed in such a way that they can move from one point to another in conditions of security so that the staff are able to maintain adequate supervision; it is therefore essential that the dining rooms and kitchen and the rooms which may be used for evening activities should be contained within the security of a single group of buildings to which there is secure access from the cell blocks.

Figs. 1 and 2 show how this is achieved in the new type of prison, by a compact design in which the accommodation required for general use is placed in a central block to which the four cell blocks (in a prison for 300 men) are connected. The ground floor of the central block contains classrooms, hobby rooms, library and canteen and the combined assembly hall and gymnasium, and the first floor the kitchen and dining rooms. The object of this unusual arrangement is to facilitate supervision of those parts of the prison which are in most frequent use during the evening, by placing all of them on the ground floor. The Church of England and Roman Catholic chapels, which are not shown on the plan, are included in the second floor of the central block. The cells for prisoners undergoing punishment adjoin the main prison buildings and have a separate walled exercise yard. The main group of prison buildings will provide for all the activities which are carried on in a modern training prison outside the hours of work in the workshops, and their compact design will result in considerable economies in construction. It also has the advantage of creating large open areas within a restricted perimeter and thus giving a greater impression of spaciousness than the traditional form of design. There is a paved area for exercise to the right of the prison buildings and beyond it a grassed area for recreation, which is enclosed in a compound.

The only buildings which are not directly connected with the main group of prison buildings are the workshops, the hospital and

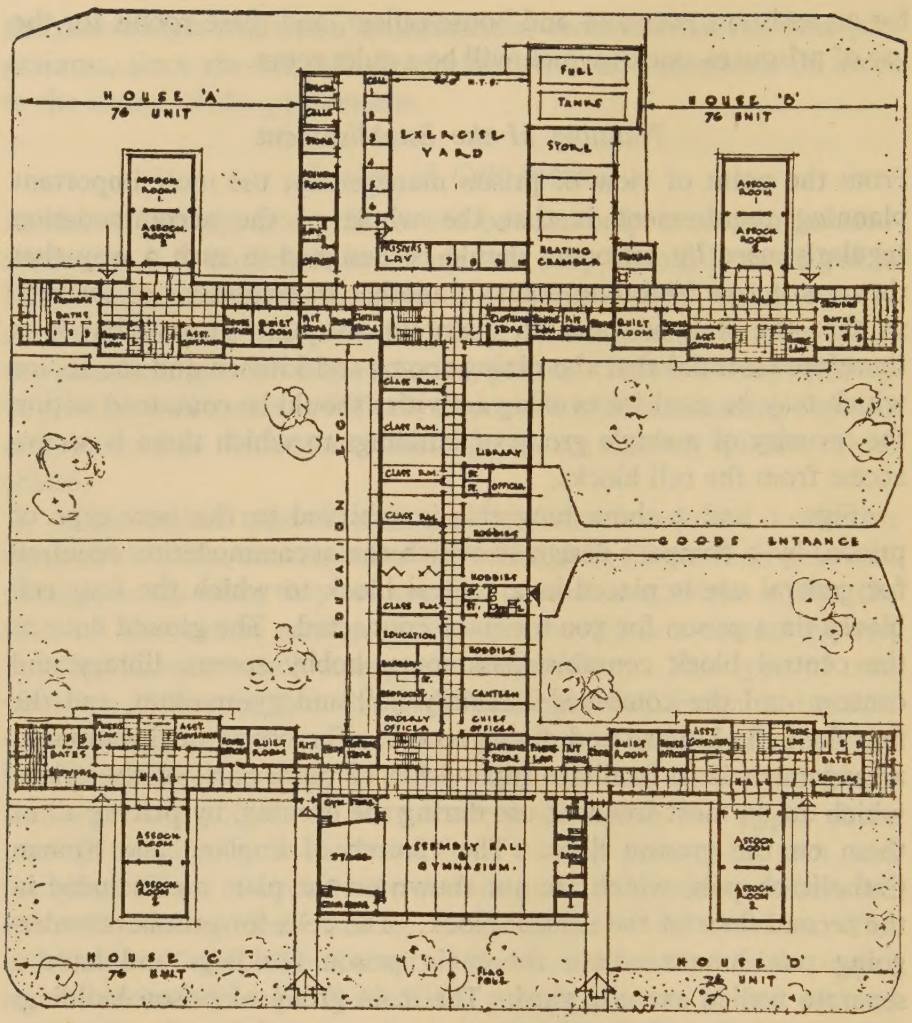

FIG. 1
NEW TYPE PRISON. GROUND FLOOR

the administration block. Plate 2, which is a photograph of a model of Blundeston Prison, shows the position of the workshops, on the left of the main prison buildings, and hospital, on their right. The movement of prisoners to and from the workshops takes place only at times when the prison is fully staffed and can be supervised without difficulty, and movements to and from the hospital and administration block are comparatively infrequent and require special supervision on each occasion.

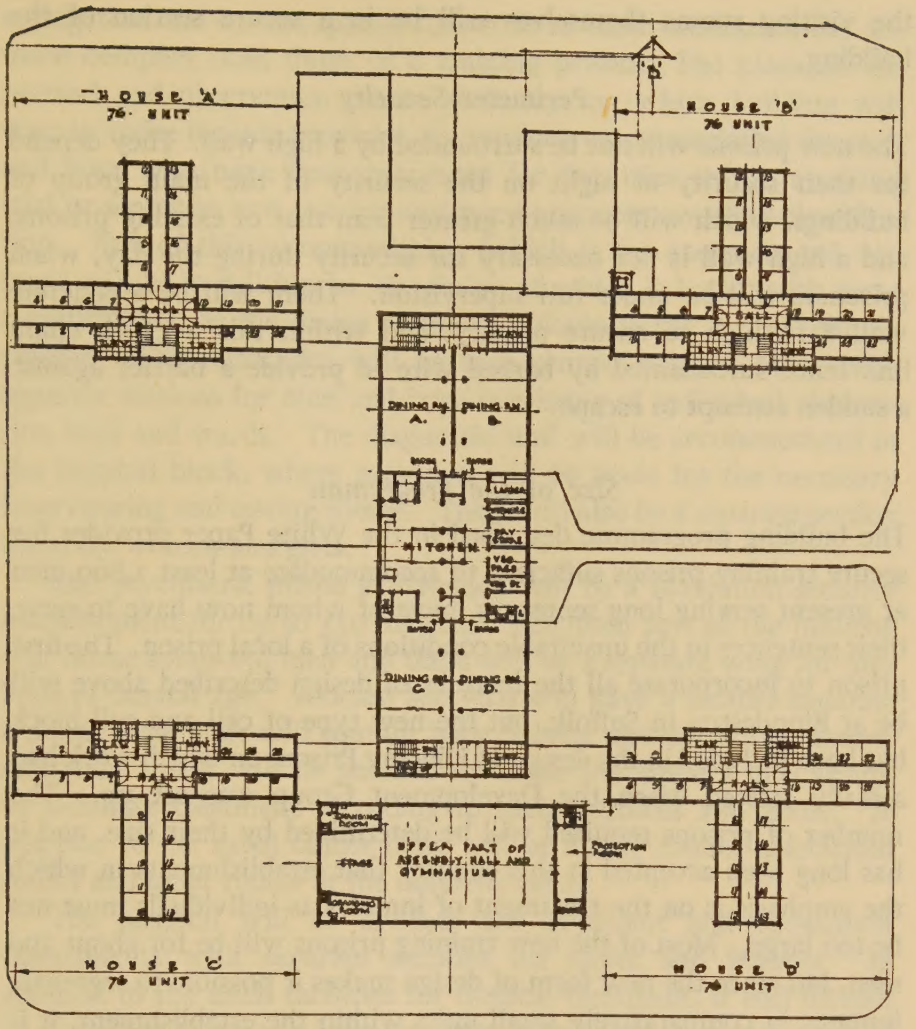

FIG. 2

NEW TYPE PRISON. FIRST FLOOR

The administration block, which, besides containing offices and a common room for the staff, incorporates the visiting rooms, is at the front of the prison and forms part of the surrounding walls. This makes it unnecessary for visitors to pass through the prison gate provided for vehicles or to enter the main prison buildings, and avoids the depressing effect created by the blank prison wall and gate in a typical nineteenth-century prison. Access to the administration block from the grounds of the prison is fully protected, and

the visiting rooms themselves will be in a secure section of the building.

Perimeter Security

The new prisons will not be surrounded by a high wall. They depend for their security at night on the security of the main group of buildings, which will be much greater than that of existing prisons, and a high wall is not necessary for security during the day, when prisoners will be under full supervision. There will be a concrete wall 8 ft. high to ensure privacy, and within this a 12 ft. chain link fence surmounted by barbed wire to provide a barrier against a sudden attempt to escape.

Size of the Programme

The building programme described in the White Paper provides for secure training prisons sufficient to accommodate at least 1,800 men at present serving long sentences, most of whom now have to serve their sentences in the unsuitable conditions of a local prison. The first prison to incorporate all the features of design described above will be at Blundeston in Suffolk, but the new type of cell and cell block has been included in the design of Hindley Prison, on which work had already started when the Development Group was set up. The number of prisons required will be determined by their size, and it has long been accepted in this country that establishments in which the emphasis is on the treatment of inmates as individuals must not be too large. Most of the new training prisons will be for about 300 men, but since the new form of design makes it possible to segregate inmates in comparatively small units within the establishment, it is proposed to include in the programme some prisons which will take up to a maximum of 450 men. Sites have been acquired for three more prisons at Tern Hill, Shropshire, Market Harborough, Leicestershire, and Newport, Isle of Wight.

Among the specialised establishments included in the programme are the remand and observation centre at Risley, Lancashire, and the psychiatric prison at Grendon, Buckinghamshire. Both of these will accommodate inmates of both sexes under and over the age of twenty-one. The planning requirements dictated by the need for

segregation and by the special functions of these establishments are more complex than those of a training prison. The plans of the remand and observation centre at Risley, on which building will start in 1961, include provision for separate accommodation for men and boys who have been remanded for inquiries or are awaiting trial or sentence, and also for sentenced prisoners awaiting classification. Part of this accommodation (which is for 400 men and 150 boys) will be in cell blocks, the design of which is based, with some modifications, on the design of the cell blocks in the secure training prisons. The remainder will be in a central hospital block with separate sections for men and boys consisting of individual observation cells and wards. The diagnostic staff will be accommodated in the hospital block, where provision will be made for the necessary interviewing and testing rooms. There will also be a separate section for sixty women and girls.

The psychiatric prison at Grendon will be a maximum security establishment for up to 350 inmates. The main part of the building will house some 250 men and there will be a separate wing for fifty boys of borstal age. Women and girls will have a smaller separate section. The halls will contain both cellular and dormitory accommodation and it will be possible to divide the inmates into groups to facilitate treatment according to their attitudes and needs. In addition to the usual offices there will be dining rooms, association rooms and quiet rooms in the different halls.

The hospital will be divided into in-patient and out-patient departments with separate sections for males and females. In addition to the usual facilities for medical treatment, it will include an operating theatre and departments for special treatments such as electro-convulsive therapy, physiotherapy and dentistry. X-ray equipment and electro-encephalograph may be installed when it seems desirable. The various forms of drug treatment used in mental illness and individual and group psychotherapy will be provided.

The central administration block will have the necessary offices on the first floor, while classrooms, hobbies rooms and library will occupy the ground floor. In addition to several workshops there will be a compound which may be used for games and market gardening.

The programme also includes three secure borstals. Of these, two (at Wellingborough and Barby, both in Northamptonshire) will be based on the same design as the secure training prisons and are planned to provide accommodation for 200 and 300 boys. The third (at Swinfen, Staffordshire) is for 170 boys, and here the buildings will be grouped round a quadrangle. A secure borstal for ninety-six girls is under construction at Bulwood, Essex.

Two new prisons for women are to be provided. One (at Styal, Cheshire) is being adapted from existing buildings and the second (at Hill Hall, Essex) will be an entirely new building. The plans for this, which will differ in many respects from the plan of the training prison for men, are now being drawn up.

Six additional detention centres, including one for girls, are being provided by adapting existing premises, and a former residential school (at Ashford, Middlesex) is being converted for use as a remand and allocation centre for boys sentenced to borstal training.

The establishments referred to, together with a number of additional open prisons and borstals, make a total of some thirty new establishments on which work has started since the White Paper was published, and this does not represent the whole of the programme announced in the White Paper. The estimated cost of the establishments on which work is now in progress is about £12m.

RECENT TRENDS IN CORRECTIONAL ARCHITECTURE

NORMAN JOHNSTON (*Philadelphia*) *

THE history of prisons as places of confinement and architecture as a collection of technical skills can be traced back for over 2,000 years. Prison architecture as a recognised specialisation, however, has existed only about 150 years, its development having been dependent upon the rise of a more or less coherent penal philosophy and treatment practices. By the end of the eighteenth century, the ferment of the industrial revolution, intellectual currents such as rationalism, and far-reaching shifts in political power had combined to bring great changes to the substance and philosophy of the criminal law. Capital and corporal punishment gave way to the use of imprisonment. The shocking catalogues of prison evils compiled by John Howard and James Neild stimulated a recrudescence of reform, the first step of which had to be the physical replacement of old gaols and penitentiaries. When the reformers of the early nineteenth century—men such as Sir George O. Paul, Jonas Hanway, Charles C. Western or Richard Elsam—wrote on prison matters, they paid considerable attention to the architecture of the new institutions. By 1820 the London Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline had worked out a specific and logical set of desiderata which was carefully followed throughout Britain.

Later, in the 1830 s and 1840 s, when the effect of American penal experiments began to be felt, the Home Office took the lead in establishing architectural policies. These were adhered to rather closely in the subsequent construction, although most of the prisons were erected by local authorities. A similar pattern developed in

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Belgium, Prussia, Spain and Holland, and later in China and Japan: architectural designs, specifications and standards which were but a part of a whole system of penal treatment became part of government policy as put forth in publications and one or more model prisons were built in the capital. These were followed in other parts of the country in a great wave of construction which took place on the Continent in the last decades of the nineteenth century. By 1900 most European nations had completed their prison systems, and rarely was a new institution erected in the ensuing decades. But developments in psychology, medicine and the social sciences did not stand still. At the end of World War II there existed a shocking gulf between the new concepts of training and treatment and the Victorian prisons which had been built so similarly in most parts of the world for a penal philosophy now 100 years old.

Since the war, vast new building schemes have been initiated in all parts of the United States, Portugal, Spain and in many countries in South America, and extensive construction is just now beginning in Great Britain. A whole new set of demands which did not exist fifty years ago faces the architects designing contemporary correctional institutions. The tremendous increase in the number of persons imprisoned, due both to rapid population growth in some areas and to generally increasing rates of crime in most countries, has put new burdens on existing prisons. Increased use of probation and of other alternatives to commitment to a penitentiary has resulted in some areas in an increasingly sophisticated and recalcitrant group of prison inmates, which places greater demands on both personnel and plant. A rapidly developing penal philosophy, widespread since World War II, requires that the contemporary prison provide space and facilities for diversified industrial and training activities, enlarged professional and social services and education. In addition, in the same institution or in a series of them, provision must be made for varying degrees of regimentation and for inmates of different types or at different stages of their sentences. In some cases completely specialised establishments are required for psychopaths, for aged offenders and for those with severe emotional disturbances. Finally, the great urgency for new facilities, simply because there is no room in the old, places such a burden on government budgets

that new and less costly building techniques must be devised. Providing the capital city of a region or country with a " showplace " prison has now become a thing of the past.

Because of the limitations of space this survey will be confined to adult male institutions for convicted major offenders, excluding agricultural colonies, specialised prison hospitals and similar types of facilities in most cases.

European Developments

For a number of reasons, largely economic and political, national states in Europe vary widely in their programmes of penal construction. The three European countries which have seen the most extensive prison construction in recent years appear to be Spain, Portugal and Turkey. Spain, which probably built more new prisons than any other country in the 1920 s and 1930 s, has erected about nineteen since 1943. A few of these must be considered as replacements for structures damaged in the Civil War, but most represent replacement of older and inadequate institutions. These *prisiones provinciales* handle the bulk of sentenced offenders, although some prisoners with short sentences and those with long sentences are received at other types of institutions. With two or three exceptions the new Spanish prisons have been built in the traditional radial style.[1] The typical new prison usually is surrounded by a double wall, with guard towers which are manned by army personnel rather than prison guards. Behind the front administration building are visiting facilities and a corridor which leads to the central rotunda, off which radiate two, three or four wings of outside cells,

[1] Jeremy Bentham's influence upon Spanish reformers was considerable, and the nineteenth-century preoccupation with constant surveillance of the prisoner, which he helped to popularise, dictated the use of the radial style once it had been established in the more famous model prisons of Pentonville in London, the Santé in Paris, Moabit in Berlin, Louvain in Belgium and others. The first of these new cell prisons in Spain was begun in Vitoria in 1859, and the better-known Madrid *Modelo* was built between 1877 and 1884. Vitoria was in the form of a Greek cross but the Madrid prison had the familiar Pentonville fan-like arrangement of cell wings.

Most Spanish prison directors seem to favour this traditional radial style, feeling that it facilitates circulation of inmates and staff and at the same time permits classification of offenders and allows adequate control over the prisoners' movements. Although this type of layout finds little favour among high-ranking correctional personnel and architects in other countries, the writer has found that, in other countries in Europe and America, custodial personnel generally have been favourably disposed towards it.

on two or more galleries or tiers. In the centre is a guard control room containing light switches, telephones and desks for the officials in charge. The top of this glassed-in enclosure usually serves as a platform on which Mass is performed. Cell-blocks are tapered, the corridor becoming narrower as one approaches the outer end. This arrangement makes it possible for prisoners to observe the religious services through the partially-opened but secured doors of their cells. This type of construction, traditional in Spanish prisons for a century, has recently been " discovered " by American architects seeking to improve surveillance and reduce the feeling of undue linearity in the corridors.

The new prison at Badajoz (1951–58) consists of six radial wings containing cells and dormitories and attached to a large centre *Panopticon* which has three tiers of cells above the ground level arcade.[2] The new Madrid Provincial Prison at Carabanchel, opened in 1954, if completed according to plan, would house 8,000 inmates in seven radiating wings reminiscent of the famous prototype institution of Cherry Hill in Philadelphia, begun in 1821. At present 1,600 are housed at Carabanchel, two or three in a cell in three cell-blocks radiating from a rotunda. Other wings contain offices and service facilities. A rear block of buildings houses a reformatory for boys sixteen to twenty-five years of age. Cells in the main prison contain wash basins and a w.c. The ground floor of each wing houses a theatre, commissary, barber shop, dining room and other services, and each wing has its own exercise area. The corridors are unusually wide and are well lighted by clerestory windows or by glass bricks set in a vaulted ceiling.

All of the new Spanish prisons, erected with inmate labour, have a completely separate woman's section, and both male and female sections contain elaborately equipped medical, recreational and—in some of the larger prisons—industrial facilities.[3] The façades of

[2] An aerial view of this unusual institution appears in the 1959 *Memoria*, published by the Dirección General de Prisiones, Madrid, p. 187. (See Plate 5.)

[3] Through the courtesy of the Spanish Ministry of Justice, the writer has had an opportunity to visit a large number of prisons of all types in every part of the country and was able to inspect each down to the smallest detail, even the sections for political prisoners. Taking into consideration the standard of living in the free community, Spanish prisons compare favourably from a material standpoint with those in most European countries and the American states.

some of these are extremely ornate, although the new prison for women and the Yeserías hospital-psychiatric facility, both near Madrid, are of contemporary style and are laid out according to a system of parallel pavilions.

In recent years the government of Portugal has embarked on a very extensive construction programme of detention facilities and prisons for convicted offenders. Two new central prisons, one for men and the other for women, have been built recently near Lisbon. Linhó prison for 500 men is an " H " shaped three-storey structure surrounded by a wall with guard towers at the angles. The exterior is of white stucco and presents a pleasing, un-prison-like appearance. The Central Prison of the North at Porto (1956) is of similar construction. Besides these, three penal colonies and a prison at Forte de Peniche have been completed since 1945, and a number of special prisons, more or less on the same style.

A number of large prisons in Turkey have been completed over the past ten years or are still under construction. Most of these institutions consist of a series of wings arranged around interior courts: Kayseri Prison (1949) contains both single outside cells and dormitories in wings off a central corridor. Zonguldak (1952) has inside cells and dormitories around two interior courts. Kocaeli (1953) and Adana (1955) are similar but have a number of interior courts. Izmir and Istanbul prisons, both begun in 1957, are unique in their layout: a large rectangular structure is bisected by two corridors lengthwise and eight across the width, between which are banks of inside cells, their backs separated by a narrow corridor containing plumbing and ventilating ducts, as in many American cell-blocks.[4]

Other nations are just on the threshold of ambitious building programmes. Those recently initiated in Britain are discussed in some detail elsewhere in this issue by Mr. A. W. Peterson. France, which has made use of confiscated church properties instead of erecting new central prisons during the last century, is planning a *maison central* at Muret, as well as many new buildings for pre-trial

[4] Plans and information have been supplied through the co-operation of the Turkish Ministry of Justice and Professor Nurullah Kunter of the University of Istanbul. The writer has not been able to determine with certainty how many are actually completed.

detainees. Germany has concentrated on reconstruction of war-damaged buildings and improvements in sanitary installations rather than the erection of new prisons. New ones are planned for Frankfurt and Essen. No new major prisons have been erected in Austria, Holland, Belgium or most of the countries of northern Europe in recent years, partly because of the adequacy of older institutions, the widespread use of small colonies and open camps, and a slowly-rising inmate population compared with some other countries. However, a prison was recently erected at Norrtälje, Sweden, which is surrounded by both a wire fence and a wall. Television apparatus aids the guards in keeping the outer wall under constant surveillance.

Australia, passing through a period of construction inactivity similar to that of most countries, is also planning or building several new institutions: a maximum security prison was opened last year in Hobart, Tasmania; training centres have been erected at Wacol, Queensland, and Cadell, South Australia. The latter contains cellular and dormitory accommodation in an open colony located in an arid region being developed for agriculture. The problems of post-war reconstruction turned the resources of the Japanese Government to other areas until recently, although repairs were made to some bomb-damaged prisons. The single post-war prison, begun in 1957, is at Fukushima and is planned for 600 maximum security offenders —escape risks, violent inmates and troublemakers. High walls with six watchtowers form a compound containing several parallel, unconnected blocks with individual, outside cells on two tiers.[5]

Latin America Advances Boldly

The various countries of Latin America have progressed at quite different speeds in prison reform and construction. Because of relatively small populations living under predominantly rural conditions, combined with very meagre government financial resources, a number of countries have advanced very little in recent years. Other countries have forged ahead with general programmes of reform and prison construction characterised by a boldness and high

[5] Information on Japanese corrections is not easy to find in European language sources, especially for recent years. Through the co-operation of the Japanese Ministry of Justice, and especially Mr. Fujitaro Kusunoki, architect of the Bureau of Correction, plans and historical data on the prisons have been made available to the writer.

standard unsurpassed anywhere else in the world. Brazil, the first of the Latin American countries to build a model cell prison on American and European lines [6] and the first in the Americas to erect a prison on the telephone-pole plan, at Sâo Paulo in 1911, has made important strides in recent years as well. As it has a federal system of states each with its own prison system, like Switzerland and the United States, there is considerable variation from state to state. In the state of Rio Grande do Sul alone, in a four-year period from 1952 to 1956, thirty-two small and two large detention facilities were erected for those awaiting trial.[7] A large number of open colonies, farm prisons and special institutions have been erected in an effort to decentralise the prison system. The house of correction and penitentiary for the Federal District in Rio, opened in 1942, contains 1,650 individual cells in seven cell-blocks arranged in parallel fashion at right angles to a central corridor. Complete vocational facilities, hospital, auditorium, diagnostic and conjugal visiting facilities are provided for. The cells, arranged in three tiers, contain in addition to the usual equipment a w.c., wash basin and shower-bath.

Two other prisons opened in 1959 are worthy of description. Estadual Penitentiary at Porto Alegre is being built in stages: the first group of buildings now completed consists of two free-standing cellular pavilions containing a total of 300 individual cells on three floors, with automatic locking devices. Each building has its own dining facilities and shares a common chapel, laundry, library, theatre and maintenance workshops. The second stage consisting of industrial buildings and an additional cell-house is scheduled for completion in 1963, and a surrounding wall somewhat later.[8]

Perhaps an even more advanced plan is that of the *Penitenciaría*

[6] The Rio House of Correction begun in 1834 was closely modelled after plans appearing in various European books but first put forth in an 1820 publication of the London Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, and Brazilian commissioners made several trips to the United States to study the new methods of treatment evolving in Pennsylvania and New York.

[7] From correspondence with Major Victorio Caneppa, of the Brazilian Prison Association, and an outstanding figure in Brazilian penal affairs.

[8] A photograph of Porto Alegre and a description appear in J. Carlos García Basalo, "Introduccíon a la arquitectura penitenciaria," to appear in a forthcoming issue of *Revista penal y penitenciaria*, published in Buenos Aires. Mr. García Basalo is Inspector General of the Argentine prison system and has long been a scholar of South American penology and its architecture. The references which follow in the text are without page numbers as Mr. García Basalo has kindly supplied me with page proofs in advance of publication.

Agro-Industrial de Goias, the only penitentiary for this state, located about 150 miles from the new national capital, Brasilia, whose sentenced offenders it will also receive. Designed by the architect Eurico Godoy, the prison contains maximum and medium security housing for 300 inmates in a single rectangular structure of three floors. Cells are of the outside type, 12 ft. by 6 ft. by 9 ft. high. At the rear of each cell, behind a partial partition, are a w.c., wash basin and shower bath. Each cell has a radio connection and is decorated in one of a variety of bright colours. The living quarters are connected by means of a covered corridor directly to the kitchen, dining room, hospital, bakery, isolation section and offices, and indirectly to the chapel and workshops. The latter are provided with music over loudspeakers. The prison enclosure is brightened by many grassy areas and the bright blue and white exterior surfaces of the buildings. A 12 ft. wall is formed of prefabricated steel and concrete sections 6 ft. by 12 ft. Outside the walls the minimum security section provides individual quarters for inmates with families and collective housing for single men, each prisoner cultivating his own small parcel of land. The state provides equipment, medical and school services and the prisoner upon release receives some payment for his production. The prison was erected in a year at the cost of 60,000,000 Brazilian *cruzeiros*.[9]

Argentina, showing a consistent predilection for the telephone-pole style, under the indirect influence of Alfred Hopkins, the American architect, has built a number of penal colonies in the years since World War II. Venezuela has shown a similar preference: the General Penitentiary of San Juan de los Morros, Trujillo National Penitentiary, Maracaibo and Oriente prisons are all built on this plan. The Tacumbú Penitentiary, opened in 1956 in Paraguay, is for all sentenced men in the country and serves as a detention facility for the capital. It is also on a parallel pavilion and central corridor plan, sometimes called the "double comb" or "fish spine" in Latin America and the "telephone-pole" in North America. The *Instituto de Rehabilitación* of Litoral in Ecuador, opened incomplete in 1960, is a medium and minimum security prison for 1,000. A central corridor 1,200 feet long has wings attached at right angles

[9] *Ibid.*

containing cells for sentenced offenders, political prisoners and detainees, an auditorium, kitchen, hospital, school, psychiatric section and workshops. Prisoners are housed in outside cells 6½ ft. by 12 ft. by 9 ft., which contain sanitary facilities. The dining room has tables for from four to eight men. A projected telephone-pole type of institution for 2,000 men is planned for Guatemala and a radial-style prison at Tiquipaya, Bolivia, but neither is yet under construction.

Two other outstanding correctional institutions in Latin America are worthy of mention. One, the *Colonia Educativa de Trabajo* in Uruguay, commenced some years ago and only recently completed, is a rectangular building on stilts with five floors of cells above. Taking almost twenty-five years to build due to lack of funds, this prison has 500 cells for all sentenced men in the country. Meals are served in the cells and security is provided by an electrified fence, observation towers and a system of tear gas piped throughout the structure.[10]

The second structure, opened in 1957, is the new prison of the Federal District in a suburb of Mexico City known as Ixtapalapa. Designed by Ramón Marcos Noriega and built at the cost of 49,000,000 Mexican pesos, the institution was intended to relieve the terrible overcrowding at Lecumberri, the old penitentiary within the city itself. A double wall surrounds a nearly square enclosure containing four unconnected housing units in a line with a fifty-four-bed hospital and chapel. On the opposite side of the enclosure, near the entrance, is the administration building, which also contains conjugal visiting suites. Flanking this building is another structure 90 ft. by 450 ft. containing workshops for 400, an auditorium seating 700, and a school. In the centre of the enclosure are a bakery, an athletic field and a service building containing laundry, power plant and kitchen, which is connected with the hospital and living areas by means of a covered corridor. The rectangular inmate housing units have an interior patio which divides nearly the whole unit into two separate areas. In three of the buildings these areas each contain

[10] Juan Carlos Gomez Folle, *Institutos penales de Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1947), p. 225. See also Basalo, *op. cit.*, and photographs in Uruguay, Dirección General de Institutos Penales, *Gestión cumplida en el periodo Marzo 1938–Marzo 1943* (Montevideo, 1943), pp. 21 and 31. It is interesting to compare the model gaol proposed by John Howard, which was raised on arcades for security, with this ultra-modern example, also with cells raised to the first storey level.

two banks of twelve inside cells back to back on two floors, built to accommodate three men in each, making these units capable of holding 288 men apiece. The cells have barred fronts like those in most U.S. prisons. The remaining housing unit is similar, but contains 152 individual cells for more dangerous prisoners and homosexuals. Each cell has a w.c. and lavatory. Collective baths and dining areas with small tables are located at the end of each cell building. In three-men cells, a double-decked bunk and single bunk occupy one side of the cell, with a table and bench opposite, and sanitary facilities at the rear. The exterior of the buildings are in a functional, contemporary style, rarely encountered in correctional architecture.[11]

Trends in North America

If the problems which face the penologist and the consequent demands which he makes on the architect affect the prisons that are built, then we might reasonably expect European and North American construction to be somewhat different. This is true. Although basic problems may be very similar—providing for security, production facilities, easily supervised living accommodation and the like—there are nevertheless quite important differences. The United States with its higher crime rates and rapidly expanding population must handle larger numbers of prisoners and this has traditionally been done in larger institutions.[12] If the numbers of inmates to be handled make the use of very small institutions economically prohibitive, a different sort of plan must be used. California, which has been involved in the most ambitious of the state building programmes since the war, has also had a rapidly increasing population which has forced her, in spite of recognition of the evils of large institutions, to continue to build oversized prisons. Other states have been forced to the same solution for different reasons. Some, like Michigan and Illinois, already have extremely large penitentiaries which are of too recent vintage to be scrapped or substantially modified, and consequently must continue

[11] Descriptive material on this prison appears in Constancio Bernaldo de Quirós, "La nueva penitenciaría del Distrito Federal," *Revista jurídica veracruzana*, IX (July–Aug. 1958), 337–374; and Basalo, *op. cit.*

[12] Sweden, for example, has over fifty institutions to house a total number of inmates comfortably handled in a single large state penitentiary in the U.S.

to be used. Some western states feel that they can only afford one prison, which then becomes unduly large in order to handle the various types of serious offenders imprisoned.

American prison administrators have been traditionally more security-conscious, partly because the escapee can more easily avoid detection in the highly mobile U.S. society but also because U.S. prisoners are less tractable and more addicted to escape attempts, riots and other violence. This again results in greater stress upon security devices, perhaps regarded as " old fashioned " in other parts of the world. Greater concern with vocational training and sports, coupled with lower land values, makes larger enclosures with more elaborate shops and recreational facilities feasible in the United States.

Because of the large number of prisons which have been erected in the U.S. since World War II, a systematic and complete description of all of them becomes impossible. Certain developments stand out, however: modifications of the popular telephone-pole plan, new arrangements in the open campus plan, and a number of structural innovations which have appeared in some of the contemporary institutions.

The telephone-pole plan, which originated in France in 1898 but has been widely adopted only in the Americas, has continued to be used with modifications for all but a tiny handful of maximum and minimum security post-war prisons built in North America. Its rather routine application can be seen at Soledad, Tracy and Vacaville in California; the New Mexico Penitentiary at Santa Fe; Marion Correctional Institution, Ohio; Oregon State Correctional Institution, Salem; Massachusetts Correctional Institution, South Walpole; the Connecticut State Prison at Enfield; and the Ontario Reformatory at Millbrook.[13] In some cases where this plan has been rather unimaginatively applied, the result, as pointed out by James V. Bennett, Director of Federal Prisons, has been little flexibility in planning, too great emphasis on custody and, with a large institution, very long

[13] Plans and descriptions of these prisons and most of the U.S. prisons described here can be found in a supplement to the *Handbook of Correctional Institution Design and Construction*, which will soon be published by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, or in the original work, released in Washington, 1949. Advance proofs of the supplement have been supplied to the writer through the kindness of Mr. C. A. Kelley, Senior Architect of the Federal prison system.

corridors. In the new Texas maximum security prison for 1,500 opened in 1957, personnel use bicycles to get from one end of the corridor to the other.[14] Soledad, one of the first post-war prisons opened, has a 1,100 ft. long corridor off which are 1,500 cells. Although the corridors are excessively long, these new prisons have not made the earlier mistake of having such long cell-blocks as to make surveillance and control difficult. Generally the blocks tend to house relatively small numbers of inmates by U.S. standards and to be short: the cellhouses at the new Oregon institution house 67 to 100 men each; the new Connecticut state prison will have two-tier blocks no more than fifteen cells long; the new prison at Marion, Ohio, has dormitories for sixty-four and cell-blocks with sixty-eight cells.

Several important innovations in the conventional telephone-pole plan have been developed in some post-war institutions, all of which do much to mitigate some of the unfortunate effects of large physical plants designed on this plan. These changes include the use of corridor zones or completely separate areas, set off according to type of facilities accessible or closeness of custody of the living quarters. This cuts down on supervisory and personnel problems, makes possible the closing of some areas in the evening hours and the separation of different offender groups within one institution. Perhaps such an arrangement can best be understood by describing three of the best designed new prisons where these innovations appear.

Because of its extremely high operating costs and a makeshift physical plant, Alcatraz is soon to be replaced by a new maximum security penitentiary located closer to the centre of U.S. population, and now in construction at Marion, Illinois. The prison is to contain 700 of the most dangerous and troublesome inmates of the Federal system and eventually can be enlarged to accommodate 1,000. The plan varies substantially from the traditional telephone-pole arrangement. Four corridors, slightly out of line with each other, come together at a central control area and are at a level midway between the two-storey wings in order to facilitate observation and traffic flow. One corridor connects the front administration building with visiting rooms and the centre. Another connects wings containing

[14] *Handbook* supplement, p. 2.

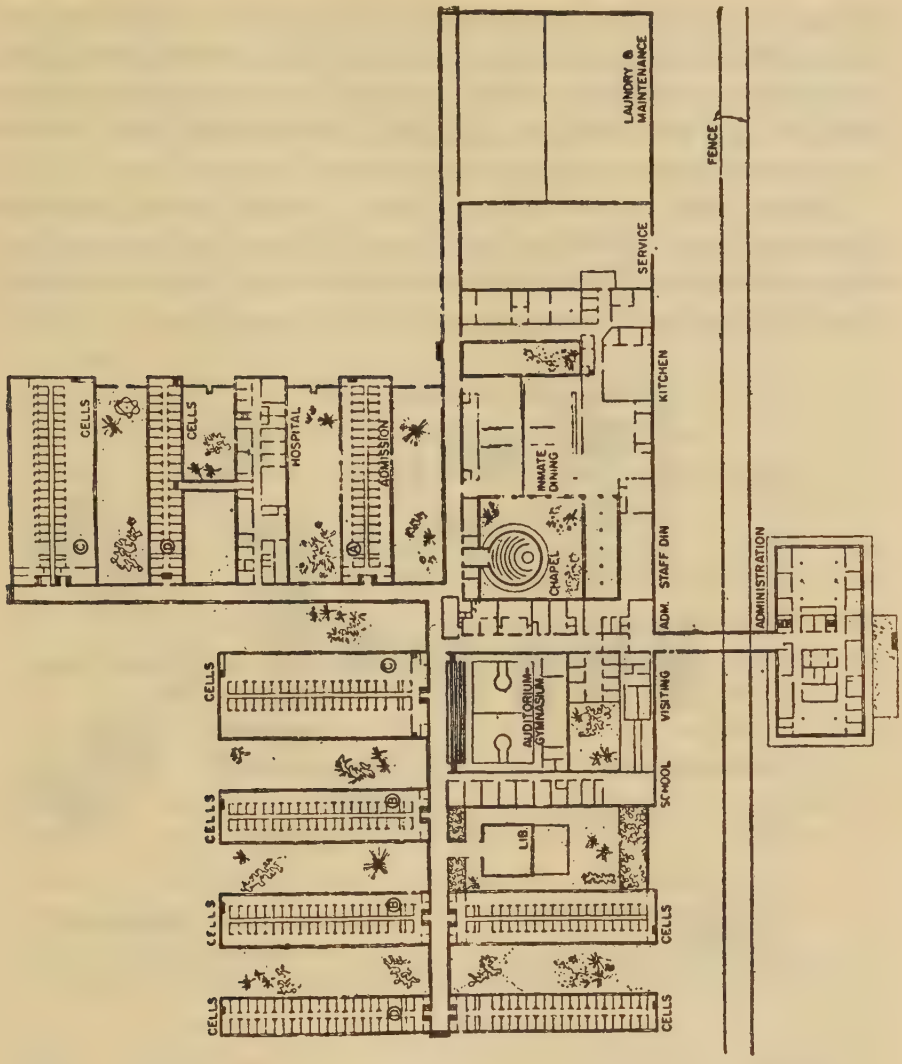

FIG. 3
FEDERAL PENITENTIARY, MARION, ILL., U.S.A.

both inside and outside cells. A third joins the admission wing, hospital unit, a psychiatric observation wing and a disciplinary section. The fourth gives access to a chapel, dining and kitchen areas and shops. When not in use during evening hours the shop wing can be locked off from the others, reducing supervision problems, and each of the wings can be carefully controlled for inmate movements. The dining area is separated into four 100-men sections.

The use of a seven-foot module in unit planning and of pre-cast and pre-stressed concrete members is reducing the cost of construction considerably. Initially a double chain-link fence will surround the prison but, if conditions demand, a wall will be added later.[15] (For a plan of this prison see Fig. 3, for a general view see Plate 6.)

Lebanon State Farm, Ohio, opened in 1956, is a 1,500-men medium security institution on a somewhat more conventional telephone-pole plan but with three " activity areas," like the Marion institution, so that those portions not being used can be shut off.

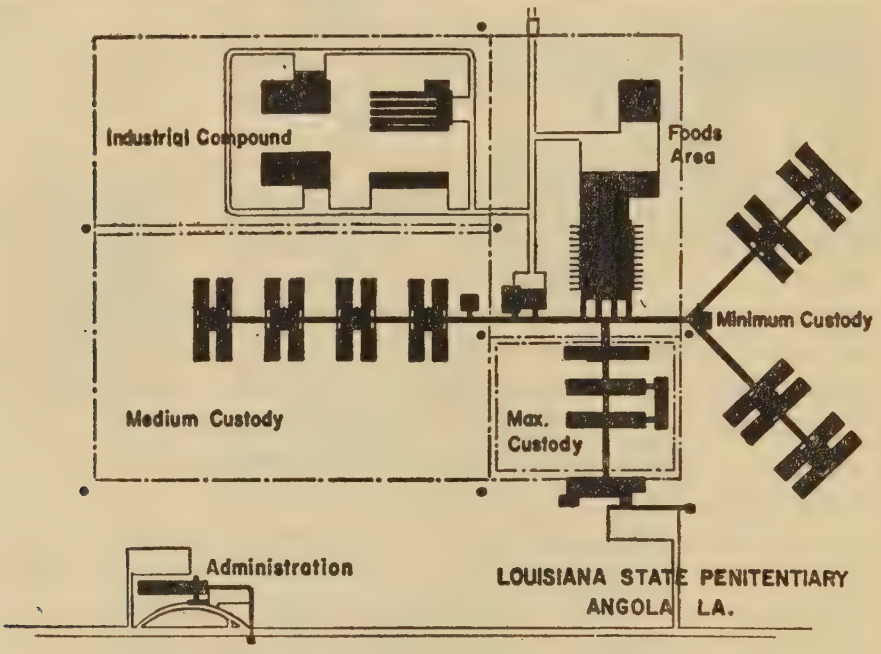

FIG. 4

There are three corridors, all visible from one point. Off the 525 ft. inmate housing corridor are ten wings, each containing 140 outside cells on three tiers, hospital, reception and disciplinary units. The 200 ft. activities corridor, open from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m., gives access to schoolrooms, hobby shops, chapel, diagnostic areas, and three

[15] Descriptive material and illustrations appear in the supplement to the *Handbook*, mentioned previously, pp. 55–56; and in " Maximum Security Institution: Federal Penitentiary, Marion, Ill.," *Architectural Record*, Vol. CXXVI (Sept. 1959), pp. 226–230. The plan, Fig. 3, in the text is taken from this source, p. 230. The general view, Plate 6, is a preliminary perspective done by the architect, Mr. Gyo Obata.

separate dining halls. The work corridor, 350 ft. long, connects laundry, vocational training and industrial shops and gymnasium. In the new correctional institution at South Walpole, Massachusetts, an attempt is also made to group various activities along the same corridors and to make a separation between maximum security and minimum security areas.

The prison which has generally received the most favourable notice in the U.S. is the Louisiana Penitentiary, opened in 1955 at Angola. As can be seen from the accompanying illustration, Fig. 4, the prison is divided into areas by function and security level. As Angola serves as the only penitentiary for the state, it was felt necessary to construct a large prison housing 2,260 sentenced men of all types, with possible expansion according to the original plan. The maximum security area contains cell-blocks with two tiers of either inside or outside cells and is surrounded by a double wire mesh fence and towers. The other two grades of security differ from each other only in the presence of a fence for the medium security area. Both utilise a new " cloverleaf " plan, since adopted elsewhere, which consists of an " H " shaped unit composed of four single storey dormitories joined to a centre area containing baths and ablutions, and bisected by the connecting corridor which joins a series of these units. (Fig. 5.) The far ends of the dormitory buildings contain dayrooms. By means of flexible partitions and " module " planning, dormitories can be converted into honour rooms if desired. Because of the damp, semi-tropical climate, a number of unusual features were developed by the architects: all buildings are raised several feet off the ground on posts and are connected by covered ramps. Concrete block walls are used and special " awning " windows or louvres were developed for 100 per cent. opening but at the same time complete security. Floors and roofs are formed of pre-cast concrete slabs put into place by the " lift-slab " system and only needing paint for finishing. By the use of such construction methods the cost was kept down to $3,500 per inmate, an extremely low figure in terms of current U.S. construction costs.[16]

[16] A description and illustrations appear in the supplement to the *Handbook*, from which the plans are taken, p. 4 and p. 31. Also see " A New Kind of Prison," *Architectural Forum*, Vol. CI (Dec. 1954), pp. 148–151.

Florida, with a similar population and prison system, began in 1960 an omnibus institution for 2,800 inmates of all types. There will be four compounds: a 1,200 capacity maximum security area containing wings with both inside cells on three tiers as well as outside cells on three floors, four mess halls, chapel and administration unit; a medical centre for 450, including senile inmates and prisoners under psychiatric observation; a 600-men reception centre with both inside and outside cells and a minimum custody area with four dormitories housing 600 farm workers. The medical centre

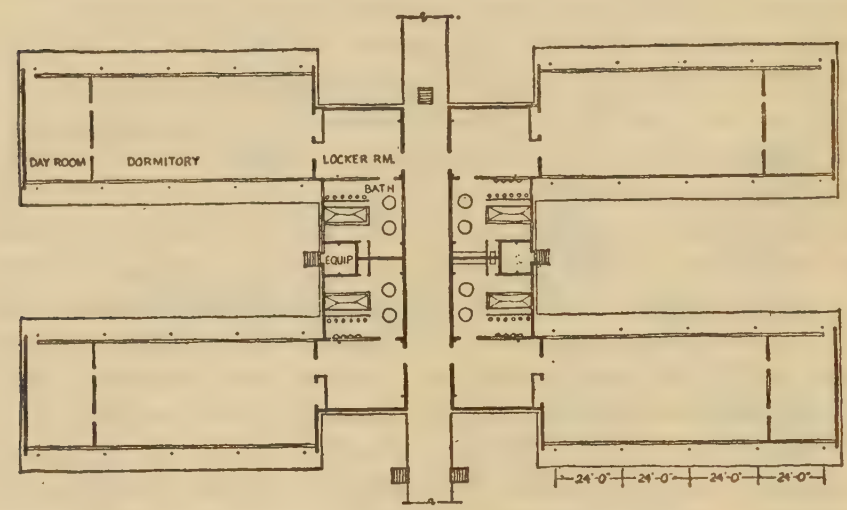

FIG. 5
"CLOVERLEAF" PLAN

and maximum security section are along the same corridor, which is placed at an intermediate level between the three-storey wings.

Minimum custody institutions, since the pioneer Mettray Colony in France in the last century, have been laid out on what is known as the "campus plan" in the United States. With this arrangement, cottages or dormitories are grouped formally along a central mall, or informally with administration, kitchen, school and work buildings. The formal plan, usually with rectangular-shaped cottages, dormitories or cell-blocks, was followed in the early U.S. institutions of this type, with little attention sometimes being paid to the internal arrangements of the living quarters themselves. In recent years considerably more thought and ingenuity have been

shown in the design of adult minimum security facilities. In the Federal Training Centre, St. Vincent de Paul, opened in Quebec in 1952, two " L " shaped dormitories are arrayed on each side of a rectangular grass plot. At one end is the administrative building and nearby are the library and school. At the other end a mess building and recreation building are located. Similar right-angle-shaped buildings also appear in the new medium security correctional institution at Iona, Michigan, begun in 1955. The accommodation buildings consist of two similar wings forming a right-angle and containing altogether sixty outside rooms on two floors. Dayrooms and sanitary facilities are at the centre. A double wire fence and nine guard towers surround the compound which will contain, in addition to four housing units, a reception unit, administrative offices, infirmary, chapel, food service building, vocational-academic school, and recreation building. Eventual capacity will be 600. The new unit of the Connecticut State Prison at Enfield, opened in 1960, has a similar layout, except that the housing units consist of two three-wing structures, along with a rectangular dormitory.

The Wisconsin Correctional Institution, at Fox Lake, begun in 1959, has a somewhat different arrangement. Within a fenced enclosure are six " H " shaped housing units on the " cloverleaf " plan. (Fig. 6.) Each wing of these has twenty-four outside rooms and a dayroom, with service facilities in the centre. By using a masonry screen 3 ft. out from the exterior walls of the living units, no security windows were required.[17] Each boy has his own door-key. Opposite the living quarters, which will house sixty in each unit, are grouped the other facilities.

The medium security institution begun in Moberly, Missouri, in 1958, will consist of two housing units in a St. Andrew's cross form on each side of a series of buildings containing offices and hospital, school and dining facilities and shops. (Plate 7.)[18] Each cellhouse has 320 outside cells on two tiers. A catwalk and inspection cubicle are located at the hub for guard personnel, and the wings are tapered in

[17] The plan reproduced in Fig. 6 is taken from a descriptive section in the supplement to the *Handbook*, p. 54. A plan and description also appear in Nathaniel C. Curtis, " Medium Security Penal Institution: Programming and Design," *Architectural Record*, Vol. CXXVI (Sept. 1959), pp. 221–225.

[18] The perspective appearing in the text was supplied by the Missouri Department of Correction.

the traditional Spanish form. Pre-cast concrete has been used extensively here. The only other recent U.S. construction which perpetuates radial or star-shaped forms is the minimum security housing unit opened at the Washington State Prison, Walla Walla, in 1954. This is a six-wing three-storey structure with a hexagonal hub serving as an administrative centre from which the radiating corridors can be inspected. There are outside rooms for 300 inmates.

One other institution should be noted, the " East Facility " of the California Men's Colony at San Luis Obispo, now in construction.

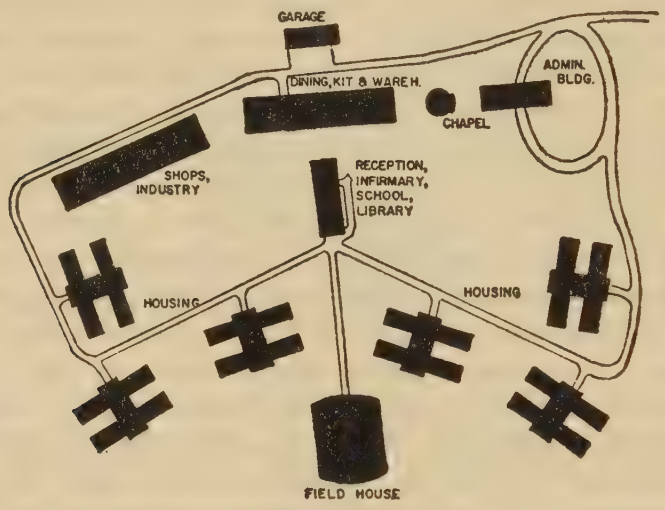

FIG. 6
WISCONSIN CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION, FOX LAKE, U.S.A.

Eight housing units form a large square 1,200 ft. on each side. They are unconnected and will contain 600 inmates on three floors of cells. The " over-under " cell is used here, a lower bed of one cell directly beneath an upper bed in an adjacent cell, an arrangement developed in California which makes possible four cells in the space normally taken up by three. The large square central area is divided into four separate yards by a cross-shaped body of service buildings.

What then can be said about trends of adult correctional institution design in the United States and Canada since the war? First, the telephone-pole plan has been used almost exclusively in all high security institutions, but with efforts to minimise some of its

disadvantages manifested in earlier prisons. With the ascendancy of this plan, the hollow square and radial layouts have all but disappeared.[19] In all of the planning there has been a systematic integration of auxiliary service facilities, such as schools, social services and psychiatric detention, into the plan proper. There has been also a real attempt on the part of the planners to cut down on the effects of excessive size, although in practice few prisons have been built as small as is generally recognised to be desirable. Such efforts have taken the form of smaller and shorter cell wings, allowing better control and surveillance of prisoners; avoidance of more than two tiers of cells in most cases and increased use of floors instead of the traditional light well from ground to roof; the use of small dining rooms with four-men tables in place of the 500 to 1,000 men capacity dining room, seating men on long benches facing one direction; the use of zones of security or function; and, in a few states, the use of so-called " satellite institutions," physically and administratively separate from a parent institution but grouped around it and usually utilising common power plant, laundry, medical and food storage facilities.

Another strong trend has been the reduction in the degree of security of the prison plant.[20] This can be seen from the fact that only two prisons in Canada and the United States have been built with walls; that outside cells are becoming increasingly common; and that more and more minimum and medium security institutions are being built without the excessive number of complicated locking devices, tool-proof steel and other gadgets too common in the past. In these minimum security prisons, the formal plan has given way to the " campus " plan, with buildings grouped informally in areas according to their functions, and innovations in housing unit plans such as the " cloverleaf " used at Angola and at Fox Lake.

[19] The radial housing unit at the Washington penitentiary has already been described. Two new Canadian institutions on almost identical plans—the Leclerc Institution, St. Vincent de Paul, Quebec, and the Federal Penitentiary, Joyceville, Ontario—consist of service facilities and shops off a central corridor in a telephone-pole arrangement which connects with a hollow square formed by four-storey cell buildings on three sides and a chapel and hospital area on the fourth.

[20] With perhaps two notable exceptions: the Ontario Reformatory at Millbrook, and the Massachusetts Correctional Institution at South Walpole. The Canadian prison, though a reformatory, is a maximum security prison with a 20 ft. concrete wall and towers, a kitchen operated by civilians with inmates being fed in their cells, and air conditioned cell buildings with glass block windows and electric locking devices.

The rapid population expansion in the U.S. and consequent vast increases in prison population have put a strain on capital outlays by the various governments, which has resulted in considerable pressure on architects and prison administrations to find more economical building techniques. This has been accomplished in part by following simple exterior styles and keeping " frills " at a minimum, and by using " lift-slab " construction and pre-cast concrete members as well as less steel. It must be admitted parenthetically that some of the popularity of minimum security institutions must be explained in terms of the greatly reduced cost of such establishments as well as the more often cited reasons connected with changes in penal philosophy in recent years. New building materials, the use of more lively colours, innovations in fenestration replacing the old-time bars, and standard placement of power plants outside the prison enclosure are other developments in recent prison construction in North America.

Summary

When we come to look not at one country but at world-wide correctional architecture, general statements can be made only with caution. Quite obviously progress has been extremely uneven—from furious building to none at all, from almost anachronistic design to very advanced planning, from over-elaborate facilities to very meagre ones. Architectural solutions to problems vary in their success as do the problems themselves, making comparisons among nations difficult. To mention a few examples, the greater stress in America on professional diagnosis of the prisoner results in highly elaborate intake and study facilities which may not be required in another country which relies on more informal contacts between staff and inmate to accomplish the same purpose. A greater concern for the rights of privacy of the prisoner in some countries precludes the use of open bars on the cell fronts. The inclusion of shower baths in each cell, quite appropriate in certain countries, would not work out at all in other areas where construction materials and labour costs are quite different and where prison inmates mistreat cell plumbing fixtures. More important, correctional philosophy is far from settled: there is by no means general consensus among

jurists, lawmakers, penologists or the public on the purposes of imprisonment nor on how such aims can best be carried out. Lacking definite, unambiguous guideposts in some cases, the planners could not be expected to arrive at similar solutions of their prison building problems.

In general, however, four trends seem evident in most but not all countries which are now erecting prisons. First, emphasis away from the cell to the rest of the prison. Since the days of solitary confinement for the entire sentence are gone, the cell has become largely a sleeping room. As such, if a single cell, the importance of having it and the corridors under constant surveillance from a central point has been lessened, while the demands for vocational training and productive work, recreation, communal eating, schooling and professional treatment, mean that the prison is no longer simply a judiciously-arranged collection of cells. It has become a complex of special facilities which must be brought together in a plan permitting the flow of inmates and staff under reasonable conditions of control and convenience. Under such arrangements, keeping different types of offenders apart becomes more difficult, and this must now be handled either by using separate institutions or by means of separate zones within a single prison.

Second, there is a trend towards smaller institutions although, because of economic pressures, areas with large inmate populations still succumb to the temptation for the gargantuan. Third, there is less stress upon security, so that very few of the old-fashioned walled " fortresses " so characteristic of the past century are being built. In their place we find dispersed physical plants, surrounded by a fence, and often without bars on the windows. Fourth, there is a greater willingness to experiment by modifying plans; to use new materials and construction methods; and along with this, to abandon the nineteenth-century " prison look," the massive towers, picturesque battlements and Gothic impedimenta, at the same time so expensive and so useless. These trends have brought in their wake a series of more specific developments: small dining areas; greatly expanded industrial facilities; new prefabricated and other construction methods; use of cell buildings with cells on conventional-type floors rather than in tiers opening on light wells running from

ground level to the roof; and, almost universally, plumbing in the cells.

In conclusion it might be said that correctional construction in the post-war years has been characterised by more imagination, ingenuity and planning, geared to the needs of a newly-emerging penal philosophy, than has been seen since the seminal period of the mid-nineteenth century. Some of the architectural solutions have remained conservative but with high standards, as exemplified by the continued retention of the radial plan. Others, especially in the United States, have wrestled somewhat successfully with the problem of bigness by modifying the telephone-pole plan in various ways. And in parts of Latin America highly untraditional and bold forms of prison architecture are beginning to take shape.

PRISON ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND

LESLIE FAIRWEATHER (*London*) *

History repeats itself

The introduction of the fully developed radial plan into this country from America, in the middle of the nineteenth century, finally established a standard design eminently suitable for the type of cellular régime then enforced.[1] The building of Pentonville Prison in 1840 on radial principles put an end to centuries of confusion and firmly set the pattern of prison architecture in this country for the next fifty years. The radial plan was taken up with immense enthusiasm and radial prisons began to appear with astonishing rapidity all over the country. Within six years of the opening of Pentonville in 1842, fifty-four such prisons were built. One isolated and interesting exception was Wormwood Scrubs Prison built in 1844. This design employed the same type of cell block as Pentonville, with long open halls containing tiers of cells on each side, the upper ones being approached by railed galleries, but each block was separate and did not radiate from a central observation point.

After this furious spate of building activity few new prisons were built in this country until 1910, when a small new prison was constructed at Camp Hill in the Isle of Wight. After the Second World War, when interest was again aroused in the building of new prisons, there was no design experience available to use as a starting point, only an embarrassing legacy of extremely permanent buildings expressing an outdated and outworn penal philosophy. It is hardly surprising therefore, but bitterly disappointing, that the first new prison of major importance to be built in this century—at

* Leslie Fairweather, A.R.I.B.A., travelled extensively throughout Europe in 1956–57, visiting over thirty institutions and meeting architects and administrators. His thesis on prison design was awarded a Distinction by the Royal Institute of British Architects, who also awarded him the Ashpitel Prize in 1957.

[1] Prisons based on a tentative form of radial planning had been built in England before this date but none properly expressed the function of such a prison design, namely cellular separation combined with maximum ease of supervision.

Everthorpe Hall, Yorkshire, in 1958—should be a very close imitation of the type of prison erected during the previous century. (Plate 8.) [1a]

The prison is planned to hold 300 inmates in two long rectangular cell blocks. These blocks are not arranged radially around a central observation core—in this respect Everthorpe more nearly resembles Wormwood Scrubs—but their internal layout is almost exactly the same as every nineteenth century radial prison in the country. The long, noisy, open halls with banks of cells rising on each side are, by now, abhorrently familiar features of our prison system and need no further description.

Everthorpe Prison is, of course, an improvement on the older prisons if only because it provides many of the facilities not considered necessary in the nineteenth century, such as rooms for association and assembly, classrooms and hobbies rooms, and extensive workshop space. More modern materials and methods of construction have helped to solve some of the technical difficulties: the glass barrel vaults lighting the main central halls and generally larger windows are two obvious improvements. But the fact remains that this building was completely out of date before it even left the drawing board and is so far out of sympathy with current penal thought that it will very seriously hamper the use and development of more effective treatment methods.

> "The internal arrangement of a building can influence the degree and quality of personal relationships within it to a remarkable degree. These relationships will not develop healthily in huge impersonal blocks of cells where the individual is dwarfed by the overpowering size of the structure. They can only be attempted in buildings which respect the quality of the individual by being attractive, as normal in appearance as possible, and suitable in scale." [2]

Unfortunately, advantage was not taken of the long gap in building activities, during the first half of this century, to re-think the whole problem of prison design in accordance with the new ideas on correctional treatment. Everthorpe now stands as a depressing reminder of the consequences of architectural stagnation.

[1a] This photograph was taken before the prison was occupied or the site properly cleaned.

[2] *The English Prisons*, by D. L. Howard. 1960.

The new approach to prison design

In February 1959 the Government White Paper " Penal Practice in a Changing Society " was published. The large prison building programme announced in this White Paper inspired the hope that it might foreshadow a more active interest in prison design. Indeed, the establishment of a " Development Group " by the Prison Commissioners, after the completion of Everthorpe, seemed to indicate a growing awareness of the need to re-examine the whole field of prison architecture in the light of new methods in penal and correctional treatments. The specific building programme outlined in the White Paper is discussed very fully in the paper by Mr. A. W. Peterson, the new Chairman of the Prison Commissioners, and no useful purpose would be served in repeating it here. It will be of great interest, however, to examine these proposals and discover how far the more enlightened outlook discernible in the White Paper is reflected in the quality of the new architecture.

After the wholesale condemnation of the type of buildings erected at Everthorpe, a new type of prison design was evolved. The first complete prison to conform to these new design principles will be built at Blundeston in Suffolk, and as this will apparently be the model for most of the other secure prisons and borstals it is worth studying in some detail.[3]

First, it must be said that the designers of the new prison have shown a refreshing attempt to break away from the traditional idea of a security prison as exemplified by Everthorpe. They have embarked, although rather timidly, on a re-assessment of the needs and functions of a modern prison system and this has resulted in a design so superior to that of Everthorpe that one is tempted for this reason to over-praise it. There are, of course, many features about the design which excite favourable comment, not least the obvious effort that has been made to do some basic re-thinking on the functional problems involved, including the segregation of activities into clearly defined and easily supervised areas. But probably the most encouraging improvement is in the design of the cell blocks. (Fig. 7.) Gone are the long, open-tiered cell blocks of Everthorpe.

[3] A full description of Blundeston is given by Mr. A. W. Peterson.

The new cell blocks with separate, solid floors and more intimate grouping of cells and dormitories now allow the prisoner to identify himself with the scale of the building and ensure him more reasonable standards of privacy and hygiene. It is interesting to note, however, how closely the general plan shape follows the shape of the old radial prisons, but for a different reason and on a much smaller

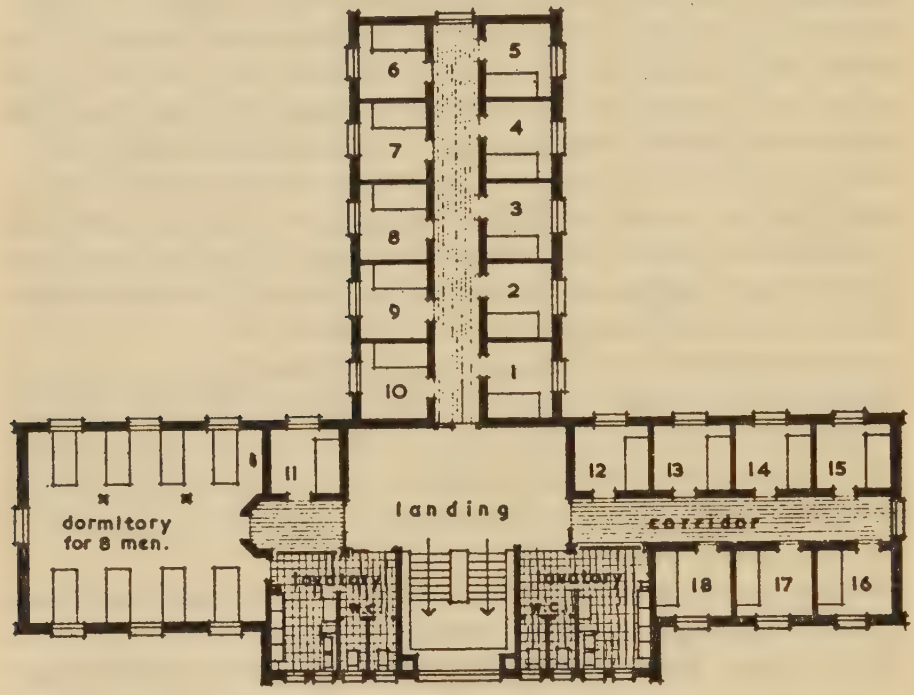

FIG. 7

BLUNDESTON. CELL BLOCKS—TYPICAL FLOOR

scale. There are many other features which show an advance on Everthorpe, including the provision of suitably sized association and quiet rooms on the ground floor of each cell block [4]; the experimental use of dormitories; the grouping of dining accommodation into smaller units; the siting of the administration building outside the perimeter wall; and such technical achievements as larger windows and generally improved cell design. But with all these evident

[4] Everthorpe has association rooms on the ground floor but they are too small, and there are no quiet rooms.

virtues an impression still remains of a group of buildings strait-jacketed into place in order to achieve a seemly and orderly plan arrangement. The rather self-conscious formality and symmetry of the layout leads to a severity and lack of flexibility which a freer grouping might have avoided. It betrays a somewhat mechanical and unimaginative approach to the problem of providing living, working, and playing space for a community of 300 men.

The design of the cell blocks, too, shows a preoccupation with symmetry and "neatness" with the accommodation carefully arranged equally around both sides of an imaginary centre line. (Fig. 7.) Within the cell blocks the idea of splitting prisoners into smaller groups results in improved lavatory facilities, less noise, and easier supervision, but means that during most of the time when a prisoner might feel the benefit of these smaller groups he is obliged to remain part of the larger group of seventy-six men in one of the association rooms on the ground floor. Further criticisms of Blundeston centre again around the general lack of real insight and imagination. This is well illustrated in the design of the elevations and the layout of the grounds, and in the relationships between the various buildings on the site. (Plate 2.)

Admittedly a fresh approach has been attempted at Blundeston, but still with many a regretful glance backwards. The challenge has been only partially met because it was only partially taken up.

Ubiquitous Blundeston

These criticisms would be of less consequence were Blundeston to be built merely as a single experimental institution to test the suitability of the new design, but which could be reproduced elsewhere if results clearly justified such a decision. But this design is to be used, up and down the country, for institutions ranging from maximum security adult prisons to borstals and remand centres, all of which require completely different régimes. Nor can this indiscriminate use of a standardised design apparently take any account of local site conditions. Is not this perpetuating the old mistake of the radial prisons where the use of predetermined conventional layouts later proved too strong a barrier for changes in treatment methods to succeed? Surely the design of each type of Institution

demands a different solution and not, as in the past, the same solution, even though from a financial point of view repetition may seem desirable?

It would appear, then, that under the present policy over twelve institutions will be built according to the Blundeston plan. As these will form the bulk of the programme for *new* buildings it will be convenient, for the moment, to accept Blundeston as the starting point and to study the implications of this policy.

The problem of classification

The present system of classification tries to ensure " that so far as possible each prisoner is placed in a group in which he will receive the training and treatment most appropriate to his aptitudes and needs." [5] This sounds very promising, but is the system carried far enough and is it necessarily the only, or indeed the best, system? Can we be quite sure that there is no room for further experiment in classification? And if some other system proves more effective what impact will this have on the design of the buildings? There is a very important point at issue here because it *is* possible to think of other types of classification which have quite as much right to be considered as the present ones. The development of a different system might well entail a completely new approach to prison architecture.

One possible alternative to the present classification methods arises out of the following statement in *Prisons and Borstals*, a publication presumably expressing official policy in these matters:

> " Their (the prisoners') treatment should at all times be such as to encourage their self-respect and a sense of personal responsibility, and these are qualities which can only be attained by practising them. And responsibility should be strengthened in relation not only to their life in prison but to the life outside to which they must return; *they should be encouraged to keep in touch with their families and remember their responsibilities to them*, and to think constructively about what they are going

[5] *Prisons and Borstals in England and Wales.* H.M.S.O. 1960.

to make of the future and how they can ' make time serve them instead of serving time.' "

The important sentence to note here is the one italicised " they should be encouraged to keep in touch with their families and remember their responsibilities to them." But that is the one thing at present which is practically impossible for every prisoner in the country. The complete breaking up of a family because one of its members is in prison only makes a bad situation infinitely worse. His children may get themselves into serious trouble or his wife may prove unfaithful or merely unable to cope with the increased worries and responsibilities. Why, then, with these sometimes terrible restrictions of frustration and impotence should any man be interested in training, correctional or otherwise? How, after release, is he to be accepted back into the family if he has spent the last few years possibly a considerable distance away, with a slender ration of letters and visits as his only contacts?

> " If we reject the idea that a prisoner is a person cut out of the community, and wish to emphasise on the contrary that he remains part of the community, with a continuing responsibility towards it, we must also show that the community accepts a continuing responsibility towards him, and does not cut him off from the hope that he may regain his share in what is good and valuable in its life." [6]

It would appear, then, that it may be necessary in any future system of classification to consider, very seriously, the effect of the geographical location of the prison in relation to the prisoner's family, and its influence on his rehabilitation.

In present circumstances, coincidence rather than classification is responsible for a man being sent to a prison near his home, and any subsequent promotion to an open prison would again entail his removal to another part of the country. If the authorities mean to implement their expressed intentions with regard to the desirability of family contacts, then there would seem to be a strong argument in favour of having, in each institution, accommodation ranging

[6] *Ibid.*

from maximum security to open conditions, so that a prisoner may spend the whole of his sentence in reasonably close proximity to his family responsibilities. This could prove a strong training motive if a prisoner is made to realise that others are still, to some extent, dependent upon him and that he is being given the chance to redeem the misery and worry he has brought upon them. These arguments would seem to postulate the use of a larger number of small sub-divided institutions, each containing maximum and minimum security accommodation.

The main arguments against such a proposal are threefold. First, that the present classification system and training programme would be upset and the selection of prisoners for certain types of training rendered impossible. Further, that it would mean men serving different lengths of sentences being confined in the same prison. Secondly, that the number of open prisons would be increased beyond what is desirable or advisable. Thirdly, that it might result in certain prisons being overcrowded while other prisons, or sections of prisons, in other parts of the country were partially empty.

None of these objections would appear to be insuperable. First, the present degree of specialisation in most prisons, apart from psychiatric and surgical centres, is comparatively slight and may not offer very serious competition to the idea of suitable classification and training facilities for *all* prisons. With a number of smaller units in each prison, and by flexible planning, the degree of classification could be considerable. All prisons would then have equal chances of effective training and the debilitating effect on both prisoners and staff of keeping all the incorrigibles in a few selected prisons might be overcome. Secondly, the new arrangement could result in some of the existing open prisons being abandoned because of their unsuitable location, or being incorporated with the new institutions. In any case the White Paper apparently recognises the need for *more* open institutions when it announces that " . . . other steps must be taken to relieve congestion and improve classification and training. There is only one way of doing it—by increasing the numbers placed in open prisons, which can be more quickly and cheaply obtained." Thirdly, minor fluctuations could easily be dealt

with and a small proportion of the accommodation could be planned to be capable of use as either maximum security or minimum security as the needs arose. For this small " overspill " portion the degree of security could be reflected in the amount of supervision rather than in the design of the building.

There would obviously be minor difficulties to be solved, and the lack of a sufficiently large criminal population would not justify a prison in certain areas, but the present situation might be considerably improved if this were tackled at once on a national scale. Specialist institutions would be outside such a scheme, and there would still be a need for special psychiatric prisons and surgical centres. The problem of dealing with the very small number of men serving *very* long sentences might only be solved by retaining a few special prisons reserved for them strategically placed in relation to the prison network as a whole. The problem of finding sites is one of immense difficulty but it is one with which the Commissioners will be faced for their own proposed institutions.

Finally, the purely psychological effect on both prisoners and staff of a progressive régime from maximum to minimum security, with its increasing freedom and personal responsibility, might generate a more hopeful atmosphere and act as a considerable incentive. Under the present system this incentive is lacking because the open prison, to a man in a closed prison, is usually some vague never-never land which he may never reach anyway.

Other classification systems

The system of classification outlined above is not, of course, the only alternative system to be put forward in recent years. Hugh Klare, Secretary of the Howard League for Penal Reform, for example, has suggested [7] the " distribution of personalities within the prison system " in order to ensure a sufficient number of " better personalities in each institution to build upon, to use in all forms of group activities and also to influence prisoner public opinion. . . . There would be no attempt to separate the good personalities from the less good. On the contrary, the whole object of classification

[7] *Anatomy of Prison*, by Hugh J. Klare. 1960.

would become an attempt to see that each institution has a heterogeneous group of prisoners. Within each prison, I envisage sub-groups, also heterogeneous, so that in all group activities, the better personalities can support the worse, and no group consists entirely of good or entirely of bad characters."

Mr. Klare also envisages the use of smaller, sub-divided prisons, and suggests the building, as a controlled experiment, of a small prison holding about 150 inmates sub-divided into groups of twelve, each secure in itself and each living, working and sleeping as a self-contained unit within the larger community. Incidentally, a further advantage of such a design might prove to be the increased degree of control possible when fewer prisoners are congregated together in any one section of the prison.

A New Prison Architecture

1. *The prison buildings*

The new principles of classification, suggested in this paper, combined with a progressive régime would obviously necessitate a different approach to prison architecture. A greater number of smaller institutions would be desirable, each providing considerable flexibility in classification by means of small group units within each prison and accommodation ranging from maximum security to fully open conditions.

If the present proposals found acceptance the Blundeston idea might, as an experiment at first, be carried one stage further by sub-dividing the groups of seventy-six into groups of from twelve to twenty men, each self-contained to some extent, but each forming an integral part of the whole community. The layout could be much more informal, allowing each group its own small garden or exercise court, but it should also be conceived in terms of the whole institution and form a satisfactory grouping of housing units, auditorium, and training and administration buildings. The change from maximum to minimum security could be obvious, not only in the architecture, but in the furniture and finishes and in the use of better materials and finer detailing for the open sections.

This is a town planning problem in miniature and should be

PLATE 1
Armley Prison, Leeds, U.K.

Ministry of Works

PLATE 2
Blundeston New Prison. U.K.

Ministry of Works

PLATE 3
New cell, U.K.

Ministry of

PLATE 4
Pentonville: Three in a cell, U.K.

News of the

PLATE 5
Badajoz Prison, Spain

PLATE 6
Federal Penitentiary, Marion, Ill., U.S.A.

PLATE 7
Medium Security Institution, Moberly, Mo., U.S.A.

PLATE 8
Everthorpe Prison, U.K.

approached with the same enthusiasm and imagination shown in the design of any other type of building complex. We should be designing now for our present century by trying honestly to face the problems of function, security and economy, and find solutions which result also in good contemporary architecture. Whatever may be said about the old nineteenth century radial prisons, they were definite architectural statements about their function and purpose. A new expression indicative of the new methods of treatment is now needed if our penal and correctional institutions are to develop a sound architectural character expressing a bolder and more adventurous approach to this immensely difficult problem.

2. *The cell blocks*

The cell block, or housing unit, will still form the most important feature of any institution and it will be valuable to look at the design of this more closely.

At Blundeston (Fig. 7) the block is a great improvement on earlier prisons and has split the prisoners into groups of about eight or ten but *for sleeping only*. All seventy-six in each block must be accommodated in the association rooms on the ground floor (not shown on the plan); hence the incipient group planning breaks down. The advantage of planning for smaller *self-contained* groups is that each may have its own association room restricted to a more reasonable number of men.

Another point might be considered here. It appears to be taken for granted that the automatic division of the building is between day and night activities—or between association rooms on the one hand, and cells and dormitories on the other. But is this necessarily the only, or even the right, division? Cannot prisoners be given the same rights of privacy as are expected in any other social group? Can they not be allowed to return to their cells in the evening if they do not wish to associate with others the whole time? It should be possible to design for this contingency and, indeed, some of the Swedish institutions would indicate thought along these lines. (Figs. 8, 9 and 10.)

May not the division be rather between one group and the next (with some freedom of movement and activity within each group)

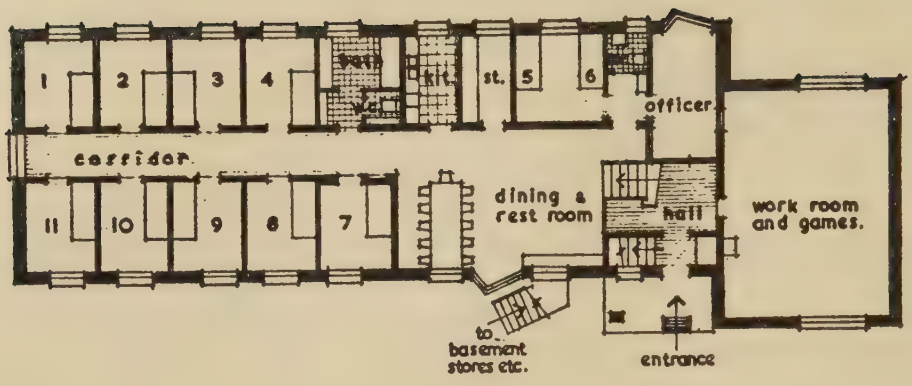

FIG. 8
ROXTUNA, SWEDEN. Typical block for 11 boys

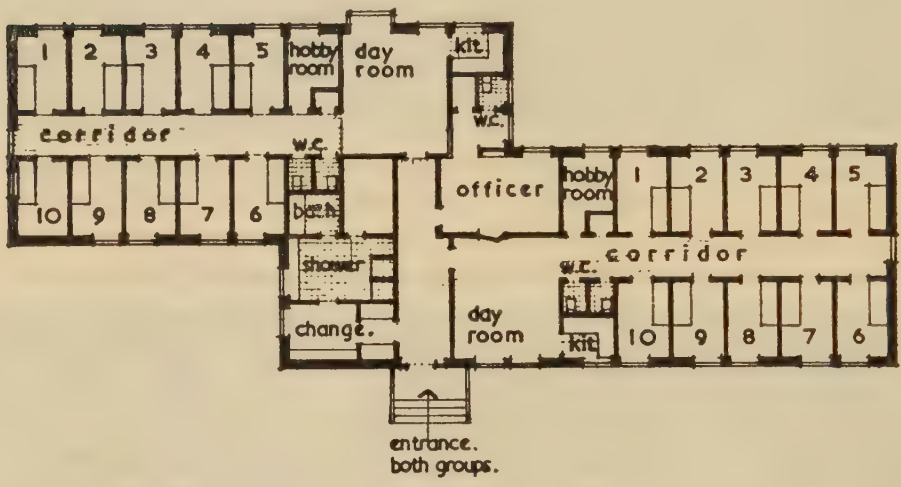

FIG. 9
HÄLLBY, SWEDEN. Typical block for 20 boys

than between day and night activities? Then, too, there are other sub-divisions to be considered. Would it be preferable for each group to have its own dining space or to combine three or four groups to share a common dining hall? Should there be one set of workshops [8] and schoolrooms for the whole prison community or should three or four groups share these facilities? The wholesale

[8] It is essential that some solution be found to this intractable problem of work. Suitable workshop accommodation cannot be satisfactorily designed until some lead is given.

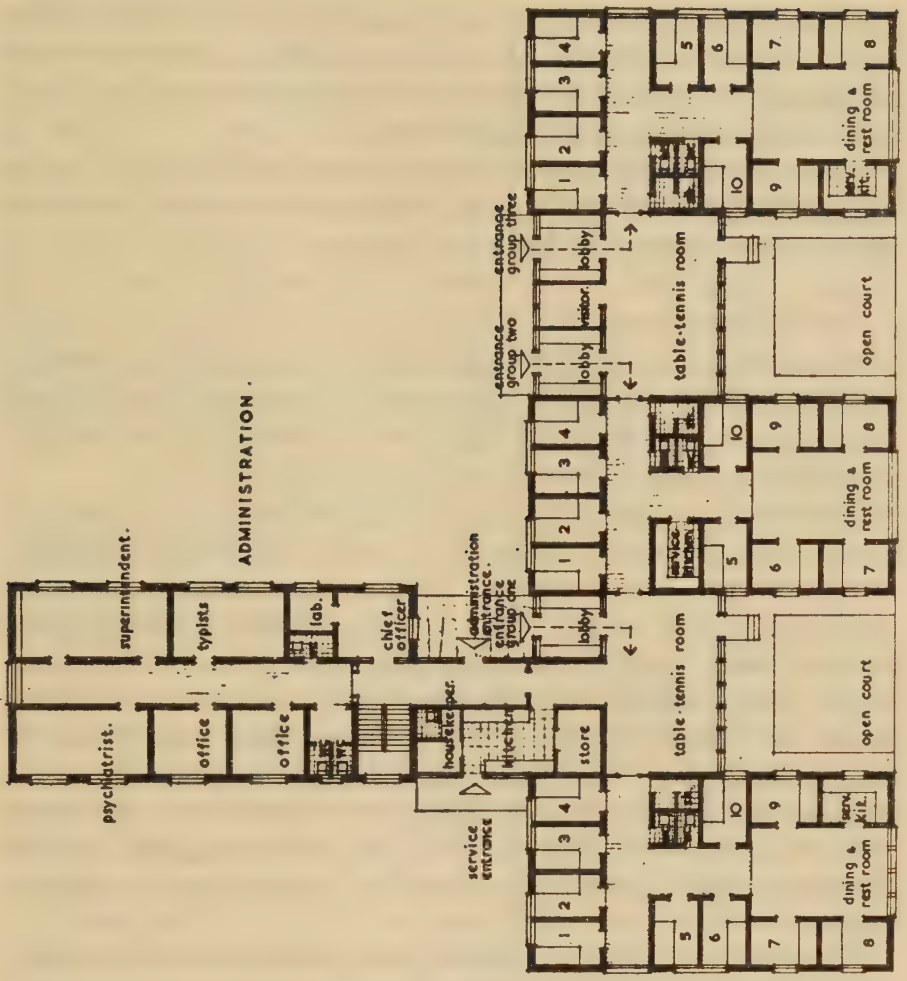

FIG. 10

PROPOSED PSYCHIATRIC INSTITUTION, SWEDEN. Ground floor

adoption of the Blundeston plan seems to indicate that all considerations of this nature have either been overlooked or studied and rejected as worthless. More intensive research culminating in an experimental institution could do much to answer these questions and could prove whether the present approach is right or wrong before too many Blundestons are built.

On the vexed question of sanitary accommodation would it not be possible to experiment with open cubicle dormitories? These

would enable the prisoners to have some degree of privacy and also to have access to the lavatory block at night.[9] Various solutions are possible by means of flexible partitions or by the use of cupboards and screens to divide up the larger room.[10]

There are so many awkward problems on all aspects of design and construction still to be solved that it is extremely disquieting to believe that Blundeston is the final answer.

3. *Swedish experiments*

It will be interesting now to look at recent designs for Swedish institutions based on group principles. Of the three institutions illustrated two are for boys, but there is no reason why similar principles could not be extended for adult prisoners.

Roxtuna, in Southern Sweden, completed in 1955 (Fig. 8) is a borstal type institution providing a mainly medico-psychological treatment with special emphasis on vocational training, and with varying degrees of security. The design is based on the small group principle for a total of about sixty-five boys. Some of the group houses hold a smaller number than illustrated here. The later institution at Hällby (Fig. 9), also for boys, combines two groups in one building, each with their own day and hobby rooms. The proposed psychiatric institution (Fig. 10) combines three groups under one roof with common halls (used also for games) as main circulation areas. Open courts, associated with the groups, are also included.

These may not be the answer to our problems in this country but we could surely attempt at least one experimental institution on these lines, especially for the proposed borstals.

4. *Visiting facilities*

The importance of home responsibilities has been emphasised earlier in this paper when it was seen that every effort should be made, while a man is in prison, to keep his family together. The

[9] Many European countries and the U.S.A. have experimented with cubicle dormitories with apparent success.

[10] An interesting solution for a psychiatric hospital is illustrated in "Psychiatric Services and Architecture," *Public Health Papers* No. 1. World Health Organisation. 1959.

most important contribution to family unity can be made only by personal contacts and frequent visits in relaxed, friendly surroundings. Unfortunately such excessive emphasis is usually placed on the prevention of smuggling that visiting times become embarrassing ordeals for both prisoners and visitors alike. For certain prisoners special precautions must be taken, but visiting rooms for the majority of the prisoners could be planned in conjunction with a canteen or kitchen and so designed that informal surroundings and an absence of prison routine would ease strain and reassure family visitors. Admittedly attempts are being made to provide such rooms but the approach is still too coldly formal and forbidding: this is especially noticeable in the design of the furniture and fittings.

If a prisoner is allowed to maintain satisfactory contact with his family he will surely be far more willing to co-operate in constructive training.

5. The prison grounds

We are not, in this country, always particularly sensitive about landscaping, and this is shown nowhere more clearly than in the layout of the prison grounds. They usually just happen to be the spaces left over after the buildings have been put on the site and are never considered as being extremely important in themselves to be designed with as much care as the buildings. Usually the only relief from the monotony of the prison buildings is the monotony of the prison grounds. Again this seems to be due to the cold official attitude colouring the mind. Descriptions like " asphalt yards " and " exercise areas " are bound to produce dullness and monotony. There is surely no reason why the grounds should not have as great an influence on the prisoners as the buildings. (We can learn a great deal here from certain institutions on the Continent, especially in Scandinavia.)

The use of small group buildings with associated courts or gardens leading into larger games enclosures and general landscaped areas is not a luxury designed to pamper the criminal. It is a necessary part of the design of the whole group of buildings—of any group of buildings, in fact, whether housing estate, factory, school or prison. If we are to be whole-hearted about new ideas and

methods of treatment, then new methods of design and landscaping must surely be tackled with the same singleness of purpose and carried beyond the present boundary of mediocrity. Compromise will lead to stagnation.

Institutions for young offenders

It is specifically stated in the Government publication *Prisons and Borstals* that:

> " The conditions of a borstal must (then) be as unlike those of a prison as is compatible with compulsory detention, but they must be various and elastic to suit different characters and different stages of development."

This excellent sentiment surely augurs well for the future design of borstal institutions. How then should one reconcile this statement with the news that the new secure borstals are to be based on the same design as the maximum security Blundeston type prison? (Although each borstal will accommodate fifty fewer inmates.) One would have thought that a new borstal institution provided an excellent opportunity to experiment with new types of design. An institution planned on group principles, possibly on the lines of the Swedish ones, might provide a more suitable setting for the type of régime used for young offenders.

The psychiatric prison

Plans published in July 1956 for the proposed psychiatric prison at Grendon Underwood, Bucks, showed a prison as out of date and unsuitable as Everthorpe. Since then the design has been modified, and cells on separate, solid floors have been substituted for the original open-tiered cell block. Full details of this amended design have not been published but a perspective sketch (Fig. 11) and photographs of a block model were issued when Mr. Butler, the Home Secretary, laid the foundation stone in July last year. From these sketch proposals, and from the official Ministry of Works Press Notice issued at the same time, it is possible to form an impression of the finished buildings. There is insufficient space here to comment fully on the design, but a few general observations might be made.

The two largest blocks (at the top of the site) are four-storey buildings containing 120 men and 130 men respectively, and are to some extent self-contained with dining rooms and association and quiet rooms.[11] What is not clear is how far the main blocks can be further sub-divided into groups *each* having a separate dining, association and quiet room. It is to be hoped that considerable flexibility will be possible in these long rectangular blocks, but it might have been easier to achieve in a number of smaller separate buildings and have resulted in a more attractive layout.

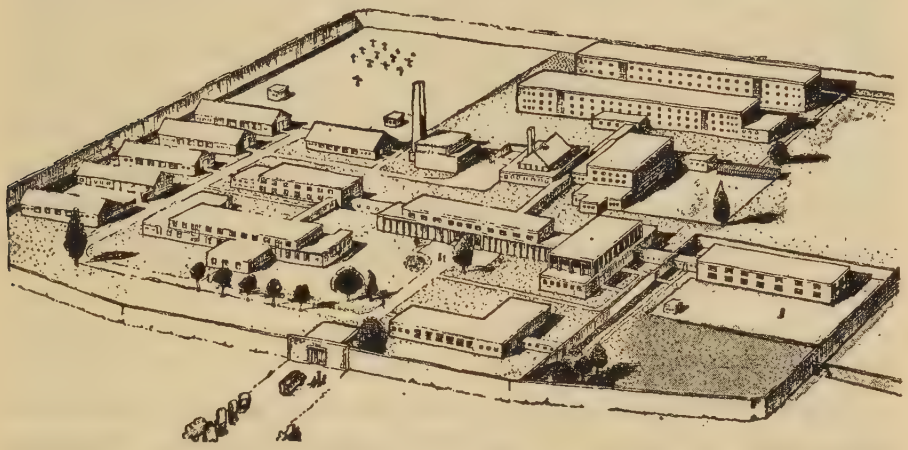

FIG. 11
GRENDON UNDERWOOD. Perspective sketch

The need for flexibility has, however, been recognised:

> " The régime will need to be flexible, ready to assimilate new ideas and new methods in psychiatric management and treatment." [12]
>
> " The régime must be flexible with the accent on treatment, and success will depend above all on an enlightened staff/inmate relationship together with close co-operation at all levels between the different members of staff." [13]

It remains to be seen how far the design of the buildings will enable these requirements to be met. Architecturally the prison is a

[11] The artist of the sketch Fig. 11 has drawn these blocks only three storeys high.
[12] Mr. R. A. Butler, laying the foundation stone on July 1, 1960.
[13] Programme of the ceremony of laying the foundation stone.

considerable disappointment. There is no evidence of an imaginative approach to this very complex problem. No thought has apparently been given to the relationship of one building to another, nor any care for the spaces between the buildings, and this results in an untidy arrangement of ill-assorted blocks.

The remand and observation centre

It is encouraging news that building of the first of the remand and observation centres, provided for by the 1948 Criminal Justice Act, is due to start this year at Risley in Lancashire. This design will also bear the Blundeston stamp but with slight additions and modifications. It is difficult to comment on the design at this stage but one does get the impression that the versatile Blundeston plan may be feeling the strain of having to cope with so many different and diverse demands. One hopes that the promised modifications will allow the fullest scope for the special type of régime practised in a remand centre.

Detention centres

No *new* detention centres are to be built, the nine additional centres will be provided by adapting existing premises. The news that a detention centre for girls is to be established arouses very mixed feelings. It is questionable whether, whatever the type of régime, there is a place for such a short-term institution for girls, since girls are likely to be far more seriously disturbed before showing sufficiently serious delinquent tendencies to warrant their being sent to a penal institution.

Existing prisons

It is to be hoped that the work of improving the existing prisons will not be delayed because of the new building work. Full scale conversion may have to wait for many years yet but the provision of decent lavatory accommodation and the task of re-vitalising old and tired buildings should, if possible, be continued until such major alterations become a financial possibility.

Prison officers' housing

The present and future programme of housing for prison officers includes 3,000 new houses and modernisation of 625 houses. It seems to be accepted practice that this accommodation should be built adjoining the prison, but there would seem to be important reasons why this assumption should be questioned. It is undesirable that prison staff should live too much together in small closed communities with possibly few opportunities for meeting people of other professions and interests. The tension of working in a closed prison community must be relieved by outside interests, otherwise the work of the prison may suffer. Where a prison is situated near a town it would seem preferable for the staff to live in that town and share in its activities. For this reason large self-contained housing schemes should be regarded with some suspicion.

There is also an argument here for siting prisons reasonably close to large towns, for where prisons are in isolated positions the staff and their families must suffer considerable frustration and annoyance, including the problems of finding suitable schools, shops and entertainments. Unnecessary difficulties are also experienced by the prisoners' visitors, especially if they cannot make the journey in one day. The unfortunate consequences of building prisons in remote areas have been illustrated again and again in Europe and America. In each case staffing problems are acute and the efficient administration of the prison is seriously affected. It is partly for this reason that the decision not to rebuild Dartmoor Prison on the same site is so welcome.

It may often be possible to establish special work-camps or farms as satellite institutions a short distance away from the main prison when, because of its position in the town, the prison cannot provide suitable work.

Research

It is a matter for regret that time was not spent on research before starting work on Everthorpe Prison, and that there is still a considerable backlog of research waiting to be done just when the biggest prison building programme for 100 years is getting under way.

The Development Group has certainly improved the face of our prisons but the body, to some of us, still looks deformed. Blundeston would not seem to be the final answer to all our difficulties; it is only one stage in a long series of attempts which should be made to find the best possible solution to a complete battery of very stubborn problems.

Considerable private and official research has resulted in a high standard of design in our schools, hospitals and housing; however, no comparable fundamental research seems yet to have been attempted in relation to our prisons. There is no mention in the White Paper list of current research on crime of any architectural research whatever. Therefore it is surely a matter of urgency that intensive research is begun immediately, extending from a fundamental re-appraisal of the needs of a modern prison system to a study of new materials and techniques, and the design of suitable furniture and equipment.

The time for re-appraisal?

The time, then, has clearly arrived when three important questions need to be answered.

1. Is our present system of classification and specialisation necessarily the ideal one and, if not, are we saddling ourselves with a network of secure institutions of a design which will prove an embarrassment in a few years time?
2. Is the Blundeston type of prison the answer to *all* our design problems, not only for security training prisons but for remand and observation centres and boys' borstals as well?
3. At this stage of our knowledge ought we not to be more experimental in our approach and less dogmatic in our conclusions? Should we not constantly remember that we are still in a period of experiment and change and design accordingly?

"The best methods which could be applied today may well be superseded in the future by others, needing different facilities and accommodation of different design. We do not want, at vast expense, to erect buildings which are destined to be as

> great a handicap to our successors as the early Victorian prisons are to us now." [14]

A small group prison, on the lines discussed earlier, could be built as an experiment (possibly in lieu of one of the secure borstals) and its effectiveness, both as regards design and treatment, closely studied. This should be done without delay so that if events justify the experiment the current building programme will not have gone so far that amendments and improvements are impossible.

This attitude is fully in conformity with the principles stated in the White Paper: " We must always be ready to experiment and to adjust our thinking realistically according to the outcome." Mr. Butler, the Home Secretary, also spoke along the same lines when he laid the foundation stone of the Grendon Psychiatric Prison: " We have to learn as we go along and I hope we shall never feel deterred from trying new methods."

The proposed experimental prison should be small, holding not more than 150 or 200 inmates.

> " One thing is clear: we want no more large prisons. All penal institutions, of whatever type, should be so small that face-to-face relationships are possible among all members of staff and all inmates together. A genuinely therapeutic community must be a small community, in which policy decisions are personally conveyed, not transmitted from a distant, rarely seen group of senior officials distinctly separate from the main body of staff and from the inmates." [15]

Finally, prison buildings must be considered as architecture in their own right. It is the job of the architect to design buildings thoroughly suitable for the new educational and correctional training of offenders and *at the same time* produce a satisfying piece of architecture. The depressing history of prison buildings must not be allowed to swamp the flow of new ideas. The approach should be one of enthusiasm for an immensely difficult problem, to be tackled in a bold and adventurous way by designers with inspiration, insight, and imagination. The opportunity now exists to put Great Britain

[14] *The English Prisons*, by D. L. Howard. 1960.
[15] *Ibid.*

foremost in this field. An enormous amount of money is to be spent during the next few years: let us make absolutely sure it is put to the best use.

The design team

The Prison Commissioners are to be congratulated on setting up a Development Group, but are their terms of reference too limited? Are there not more radical changes necessary in the whole structure of the present organisation when so many departments are concerned with the problem of design that the final building appears far removed from the initial ideas expressed by the clients, *i.e.*, the Prison Commissioners themselves.

The Home Office has to convince the Treasury that the Prison Commissioners' demands are justified; but none of these Departments is immediately concerned with the design and construction of the new prisons. The Ministry of Works is responsible for the design but has no responsibility for prison administration or expenditure. To make matters worse, there are insufficient architects in the Ministry of Works department to cope with the necessary drawings, and the final working drawings (from which the prisons are actually built) are sometimes prepared by an outside firm of private architects. This was the case with the prison at Blundeston.

An editorial in the *Architects' Journal* just over two years ago also commented on the unfortunate consequences of this policy.[16]

> " The problems of prison building will not be solved by sticking a patch labelled ' Development Group ' over the tattered fabric of the present set-up. A more radical solution is demanded. If the results of penological research and experiment are to be combined with the fruits of building research and development to provide a reasonable, far sighted, and economic solution to the many problems involved in building prisons, some way must be found of integrating the scattered and to some extent conflicting responsibilities which are at present distributed among at least three authorities. Architects produce the best results

[16] *Architects' Journal*, December 4, 1958.

when in direct contact with their clients. Obviously, therefore, one authority—the Prison Commissioners—must be solely responsible for the programming, design, and execution of prison building."

With this evident chaos it is easier to understand why the encouraging and forward-looking tone of the White Paper cannot always be seen very clearly in the design of the completed buildings. Reorganisation of a government department *can* lead to improved architecture. This is proved by recently published buildings designed in the newly reconstituted Architects' Department at the War Office.

It would be an encouraging sign too if the Prison Commissioners would sanction the advance publication of new designs. The risks to security are very slight but the gesture would give an opportunity for constructive comment and would prove the confidence of the Commissioners in their chosen designs.

It must not be inferred from the comments and criticisms offered in this paper that the writer is not aware of the immense problems involved, nor of the tremendous amount of work and thought which has already been done to improve not only the design of the new prisons, but the terrible condition of the existing ones. The work of reconditioning the old and tattered prisons has been steadily maintained for many years now and vast improvements have been made. The purpose of this paper has been to take advantage of the open invitation to comment on the Government proposals contained in the White Paper which " if it did nothing more than stimulate informed discussions of the intractable problems that have to be solved, would have served a useful purpose."

Let us welcome the exciting challenge offered by this new building programme and by careful research and bold experiment produce prison buildings which display a standard of design equal in originality and imagination to the best schools and housing for which this country is known all over the world.

TRENDS IN PRISON DESIGN

JOHN MADGE (*London*) *

A New Wave of Prison Building

THE emphasis being given to the question of prison architecture in this issue of the *Journal* is another welcome sign of a widespread revival of interest in the problem. A forthcoming number of the *International Review of Criminal Policy* is also to be devoted to the subject, and it is expected that the United Nations will follow up their initiative with a special consultative conference in Geneva later in the year. Even before this, it is hoped to assemble in London next July an international study group of architects and administrators who are directly concerned with prison design, so that they can exchange their experiences and ideas on the subject.

As Professor Johnston has pointed out, progress in expanding and modernising prison accommodation is being achieved very unevenly in different countries. While an immense amount of construction has been proceeding in North and South America, and some disappointingly traditional buildings have been opened in certain European countries such as Spain, Portugal and Turkey, there has so far been little to show in most Western European countries. Two or three original, if somewhat fortress-like, designs for new prisons in West Germany were recently exhibited in London, but in terms of buildings completed and occupied the main source of inspiration until very recently has been Sweden, whose Youth Institutions at Roxtuna, Hällby and Mariefred have aroused much interest. The Swedish programme is continuing, but it may well become overshadowed by the more massive effort now being put into prison buildings in the British Isles.

Allowing for the fact that a substantial, and probably increasing, proportion of future prison accommodation in all countries will be in the form of hutments and agricultural camps in which security

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considerations are minimised, there will inevitably be a substantial expenditure on secure prisons, and it is clearly desirable that we should take advantage of the newly accumulating experience.

A Choice of Policies

From the perspective of England, it is clear that a fundamental divergence exists between the American philosophy of prison design—which dominated all European thought in the nineteenth century and still appears to dominate the new prison architecture of South America and the Iberian Peninsula—and the emergent, Northern European, philosophy of small administrative units planned to a more domestic scale. In this context, Great Britain may be seen as progressively discarding the vestiges of the Pennsylvania system. As Mr. Fairweather points out, Everthorpe was a disappointing exercise because, although it had the merit of being reasonably small, it gave no indication of any reappraisal of the function of prison buildings, whereas Blundeston represents a long stride forward towards providing a suitable setting for the application of the " small group " principle.

It may not be chauvinistic to suggest that, with so many nations still uncommitted on the shape of their future prison provision, it is all the more important for the British authorities to speed their own thinking and development work, so that we can contribute to the evolution of more appropriate prison buildings everywhere. At least, if we clarify our own thinking, we can more fruitfully and effectively participate in international exchanges on this question.

Size and Security

This does not mean that the aim should be a uniform solution irrespective of circumstances. If, as Mr. Fairweather rightly suggests, we cannot safely adopt a single formula even in Britain alone, it is clearly futile to hope for a universal solution throughout the world. On the other hand, not all Professor Johnston's reasons for the current direction of development of prison design in the United States are entirely convincing, even in relation to the American programme. It is not clear, for example, why the relatively high

crime rates and rapidly expanding population of the United States should make the use of small institutions economically prohibitive. There is also the question of security, which is widely felt to be over-emphasised in the United States; this preoccupation is explained by Johnston in terms of the high American mobility and their addiction to escape attempts, riots and other violence, but it could be argued that it is the conditions in the—by European standards—immense American prisons that lead to the intermittent outbursts.

Clearly in a secure prison the problem of controlling the inmates is a crucial one. It seems here also that there are two radically different approaches. In one system, the principle is that the prisoners will be moved from place to place only in squads of, say, twenty-five men under the direct control of a prison officer; the system of gates and barriers is such that these squads can be separated from each other, so that there is no normal danger of large congregations of unruly prisoners. As Mr. Peterson has pointed out, the design of control has been brought to a fine art at Blundeston, whose component parts have been carefully related to each other for this purpose. In the American-type security prisons, on the other hand, large concentrations of men are possible, and the ultimate control is maintained from watchtowers with automatic weapons. Even in the latest Latin-American and other prisons reported by Johnston this feature is retained except perhaps in the Uruguayan prison which incorporates the rather bizarre amenity of piped tear gas.

It is only fair to add that much more thought is clearly being given in the newer American institutions to the problem of unit control. It is clear from Professor Johnston's description that the most up-to-date examples are carefully planned so that the individual cell blocks are much smaller. This is specifically mentioned, for example, in references to Salem, Oregon; Moberly, Missouri; and in the new maximum security Federal penitentiary at Marion, Illinois.

The Growth of Ancillary Functions

In spite of these differences, there are of course many new features that are common to all modern prisons. Perhaps the most striking development has been the growth of the ancillary functions of the

prison. Particularly in the case of the Pennsylvania type penitentiaries, from which most nineteenth-century European prisons were copied, the cell blocks dominated the layout, because the prisoner was initially expected to spend virtually all of his time in the cell. It will be remembered, for example, that each cell at Pentonville and elsewhere was made large enough to accommodate a loom at which the occupant could work during prescribed hours. Today, work is almost universally regarded as essential for all able-bodied prisoners; some will be occupied with domestic and gardening jobs, but workshops and vocational rooms today occupy quite a large proportion of the covered space. When we add to these the administration, assembly, gymnasium, chapel, hospital and the service buildings, it is found that the cell blocks constitute quite a small fraction of the whole.

The Consequences of Classification

Another trend whose implications are still imperfectly worked out is that relating to the complicated question of classification. This affects prison architecture in various ways. The first is that the " individualisation of punishment " requires very careful observation and scientific examination of the individual prisoner both before and after sentence, so that a special organisation with its own buildings is required. Mr. Peterson mentioned the remand and observation centre at Risley; work on this will begin this year, but no details of the design have yet been released, except for the fact that it will be related to a central hospital block. It is envisaged that other similar centres will follow throughout the country. It is believed that few observation centres yet exist in other countries, the " Houses of Detention " found in New York and elsewhere in the United States being more in the nature of large gaols or " *maisons d'arrêt* " for the custody of prisoners before trial than genuine classification centres.

A second consequence of classification is a considered decision as to the degree of security appropriate for the individual prisoner. It has been the custom in the past to build prisons to a uniform standard of security, but this arrangement is in many countries being rapidly abandoned. In the United States it is becoming common, as

Professor Johnston makes clear, to incorporate the different security standards side by side in the same institution. For example, inside cells are used for maximum security and outside cells for medium security, or a distinction between medium and minimum security is being signalised by the presence or absence of a perimeter fence. In Sweden the new prisons have identical housing units inside and just outside the wall. In England, open hostels are being placed outside some old secure prisons for use by prisoners being prepared for return to ordinary life.

There appear to be various advantages in combining different levels of security in the same institution. The first argument is rather similar to the argument used in support of the comprehensive secondary school, which is that the institution does not become identified with one particular standard and that individuals can be transferred when appropriate from one stream of the institution to another. Unlike the comprehensive school, the " comprehensive " prison does not have to be large. While it must be admitted that many administrative problems, such as the difficulties of providing a range of training and other facilities, are increased as the size is diminished, there are strong reasons for keeping this size to a tolerable minimum.

Size of Unit

There are two main arguments against the large prison. The first relates to the institution itself; the arguments against the impersonal flavour of the large establishment need not be repeated here. Professor Johnston accepts these arguments, but claims that it is possible to avoid the effects of excessive size. The most promising method suggested by him is the adoption of a system of satellite institutions that would be self-contained for some purposes but would share certain facilities such as the power plant and laundry.

The second argument is based on the impossibility of a prison being genuinely " local " if it is large in size. Mr. Fairweather makes a strong plea that family life should be sustained by holding prisoners near to their homes. This is perhaps a more complicated question than he admits. To the extent that criminals are backsliding members of respectable households, the family influence may be benign

(though there may still be some feature in the family situation that impels the individual into criminal acts), but that does not take account of the innumerable cases in which the delinquent subculture is an aetiological factor. Far too little is known about the families of prisoners, and about how family relationships fare during prison sentences, but enough is known in many instances to invalidate the cosy stereotype of normal domestic bliss interrupted by the occasional absence in prison of the husband, just as it might be if he had a motor accident.

This is in no way to dispute Sir Alexander Paterson's famous dictum: "You cannot train men for freedom in a condition of captivity." Perhaps the closest analogy is that of army life. The recruit needs to be educated to the value system of the army, but as his discharge approaches he also needs re-education to the value system of civilian life. Similarly, perhaps it is towards the latter part of his sentence that the prisoner should be most systematically exposed to family life. Of course, if at the same time the whole family could be re-educated to adopt a socially conformist value system, this might possibly assist greatly in the rehabilitation of persistent offenders.

Apart from resocialisation, there is also the system of conjugal visits, provision for which in one or two South American institutions (Rio, Brazil; Ixtapalapa, Mexico) is mentioned by Professor Johnston. This is regarded as a partial antidote for the problem of homosexuality, but in other parts of the world a more common replacement for normal sexual life, if any provision at all is made, is to permit the prisoner to visit his own home, when sexual relations can take place in less artificial circumstances.

It will thus be seen that there are definite advantages, and no obvious disadvantages, in locating the prison near to the homes of its inmates, and it generally follows from this that the prison should be small. How small it can be would need detailed study, but it does not seem unrealistic to aim at some institutions containing less than one hundred inmates. If prisons can be scaled down to this size, the number of possible urban sites would be increased; it might for example be possible to include small prisons of this kind in urban renewal programmes.

The Unit of Accommodation

Turning now to the more directly architectural questions, we must start with the basic accommodation unit. The old-type single-inmate cell that has so commonly degenerated into a three-person cell seems to be disappearing. Mr. Peterson's statement that the new nearly square cell first used at Blundeston, with an area of just under 60 sq. ft. (compare the 70 sq. ft. minimum for a domestic room habitable by one person), cannot contain more than one person is reassuring. By general prison standards, even for one person these cells are small, but space is saved by omitting the w.c. and basin, and the shape is good, so if it is really true that it will be used only for sleeping in it should be tolerable. In other countries, Johnston shows that three-inmate cells (and even two-inmate cells, at Carabanchel, Spain) are still being built. Dormitories, which are tentatively being tried out at Blundeston for about 20 per cent. of the prisoners, are reported as suiting up to 50 per cent. of the inmates of United States institutions. The " cloverleaf " arrangement used at Angola, Louisiana, and Fox Lake, Wisconsin, appears to presuppose either dormitories or " honour rooms " (rooms without w.c.s, the occupant holding a key) and are deemed suitable only for medium and minimum security inmates.

As a planning device, the Californian over-under arrangement looks to be worth studying, again particularly because it restricts the possibility of overfilling the cell.

The other interesting point that emerges is that the use of the inside cell is becoming less common in the United States, where for years it was by far the most normal arrangement. It becomes clear, however, that with an outside cell, one of the advantages of which is the promise of a little privacy, the placing of the sanitary conveniences presents some difficulty. England is almost unique in rejecting the provision of plumbing in each cell, which solves the problem by default. Any screening, as at the Penitenciaria Agro-Industrial de Goias, near Brasilia, sounds likely to reduce daylight in the whole cell. In an outside cell, the right place for a sanitary recess would seem to be near the cell door, using artificial ventilation, as is found in the modern hotel bedroom plan.

The Unit of Association

With the current emphasis on group treatment, it is of the greatest importance to be able to gauge the size of the group that is most accessible to therapy. There are of course considerations other than the size; Mr. Fairweather reminds us of Mr. Hugh Klare's advice that each group should include some of the better personalities so that they may influence the less good. It is regrettably not always certain who will influence whom, and the steady leadership of a prison officer is an indispensable part of the programme. For this reason, the basic unit of association should presumably be quite small.

The physical arrangements should be correspondingly scaled. This is perhaps one disappointing feature of the Blundeston cell block whose association rooms, though more generous than those at Everthorpe, retain the unit of association as high as seventy-five inmates. In the case of Blundeston it would be preferable to have association rooms on each floor, for the sole use of the prisoners housed on that floor; if it were decided to try this out, the layout could be modified without too much difficulty by using an X-type plan instead of the T-type plan so far adopted.

General Layout

Provided that the functional requirements are satisfied, the actual layout is a matter of planning efficiency rather than of penological policy. At a time when the cells dominated the prison, the radial plan was an efficient way of linking the separate units into one block. Professor Johnston appears to attribute the radial style to Jeremy Bentham, presumably because it facilitates visual control from one central point, but that merit has little relevance in a prison system in which control is exercised on the spot rather than from a distance. In any case, distant monitoring can be done by closed-circuit T.V.

The arrival of the telegraph-pole plan at the end of the nineteenth century coincided with no fresh penal philosophy, but was a novel solution to the problem of how to provide a covered link between a large number of wings. Because of the increasing size, the radial plan type was becoming inadequate and the telegraph-pole plan type was brought in as a substitute. With the modifications indicated by

Professor Johnston, allowing better compartmenting, the telegraph-pole has good prospects of surviving as long as large institutions survive.

The more informal arrangements, such as the " campus " plan, provide greater scope for inspired architecture. They are probably less economical in space, so they are more likely to be adopted for small units, and on rural sites, and for prisons that do not require the extremely expensive perimeter wall.

In terms of architecture, much of the difficulty arises from the fact that there is no longer one dominating feature that can operate as a unifying principle on the building complex as a whole. In the model of Blundeston illustrated the ancillary workshops are not shown, and when they are included (as in Prisons and Borstals, 1960) there results a slightly irrelevant symmetry but no real focus. The layout plan for Grendon deserves Mr. Fairweather's architectural criticisms. While it is a negative virtue that the forced symmetry that survived in Everthorpe and Blundeston has been discarded, there is disappointingly little indication of subtlety in the relationship between the various buildings shown on the Grendon site model. It is interesting that the model for Moberly, Missouri, is in principle rather similar to Blundeston in spite of having four times the capacity and also of being more dispersed.

One way of imposing architectural form on this diversity of functions would be to evolve a low point block, probably X-shaped in plan, each accommodation floor of which would consist of a revised version of a " Blundeston " cell floor plan, with the addition of a fourth wing for the association functions. This is the kind of block that might be used, for example, as a pre-release unit, located in a built-up area.

Future Organisation

In the highly effective development programme designed to modernise our thinking about schools, progress has been achieved by the willing and friendly co-operation between the official development groups and private architects. In the case of hospitals and of housing, active development is now going on in the responsible Ministries, but much of the spadework was undertaken by other

bodies—notably the Nuffield Foundation in the case of hospitals and the Building Research Station and the London County Council in the case of housing; here again most of the new buildings, while incorporating at least some of the findings of the development groups, have been designed by private architects.

It is in the nature of things that in each country prison architecture has only one client. Furthermore, in most countries, and certainly in Great Britain, the scale of prison building has been so minute that no practising private architect has any substantial experience in this field, private firms having been used only in a subsidiary role.

The result of this combination of circumstances has been that no one in Britain has been adequately prepared for the massive prison building programme outlined by Mr. Peterson. The Prison Commissioners and the official architects working on their behalf have presumably so far felt that they had little to communicate and there was no private architect sufficiently knowledgeable about the architecture of prisons to make communication worthwhile.

Now that the new programme is getting under way it is to be hoped that suspicion aroused by this silence will be overcome. Now that the programme will support it, there is every advantage to be gained by a franker exchange of information and ideas not only between official and private architects in this country, but also between architects and administrators in all countries who are interested in the improvement of prison building.

Furthermore, information can only be absorbed and ideas generated by those who are actively involved in the problem. At this stage of the programme, the need is for open, fertile and creative minds in relation not only to prison design but to penal policy generally. Our successes at heading off criminal tendencies are so uncertain that we have little established practice to preserve. This is a time for experimentation, based on the many untried or unelaborated ideas thrown up by human and social scientists. The setting of these experiments may have a decisive influence on their success or failure, and that is why the development of a more adequate prison architecture has such a vital contribution to make.

THE PRISON BUILDING PROGRAMME: A POSTSCRIPT

A. W. PETERSON (*London*)

THE interdependence of prison architecture and penal treatment is well illustrated by the fact that this issue of the Journal is concerned as much with methods of treatment as with principles of design. Both Mr. Madge and Mr. Fairweather rightly emphasise the importance of classification as a means towards individualised treatment, and Mr. Fairweather argues in favour of providing different degrees of security and amenity within each establishment in order to enlarge the range of treatment and to restrict the need to transfer a prisoner from one prison to another more distant from his home.

As Dr. Johnston shows, this principle is being adopted in recent planning in other countries, but the size of the groups and of the establishment as a whole tends to be much larger than is considered desirable in this country. Even on this large scale there are the objections mentioned by Mr. Fairweather, and it may prove difficult to maintain effective segregation of the different groups and to prevent the security of the high security groups from becoming compromised by the immediate proximity of low security groups. On the smaller scale which would be appropriate to conditions in this country, many of these difficulties would be even greater. The economic use of available space and staff could not be ensured and it might well be found that the small size of some of the groups would seriously restrict the scope of treatment.

One of the main objects of the system proposed by Mr. Fairweather would be to enable as many prisoners as possible to serve their sentences within a reasonable distance of their home. The object is highly desirable, but it seems doubtful whether the system would make it any easier to achieve. The siting of a multi-purpose establishment part of which consisted of minimum security accommodation would be influenced by the same considerations as have to be taken into account now in selecting the site for an open prison.

For many reasons it will usually be found impracticable or undesirable to site this new type of establishment within the heavily populated areas in which there is a high rate of delinquency. The travelling involved in visits to prisoners would not be reduced, and would even be increased for those prisoners with shorter sentences who, under the present plan, would continue to serve most of their sentences in the reconstructed urban prisons.

It is true that until recently a prisoner transferred to an open prison often found himself a long distance from his family, but during the past three years five new open prisons have been acquired of which four are in operation. Two of these (Appleton Thorn and Kirkham) are within a reasonable travelling distance of the Manchester/Liverpool area, and each of the others (Ford, Drake Hall and Thorp Arch) is reasonably accessible to one of the other conurbations (London, Birmingham and the West Riding). These five prisons provide accommodation for up to 2,000 men, and when they are in full operation the existing difficulties about separation from the family will be greatly reduced. If further open prisons are found to be needed, a site within reasonable distance of a large built-up area would certainly be preferred if it could be found.

The advantages of the multi-purpose establishment are therefore somewhat speculative. At this stage of the development of the building programme, when the urgent need is to provide additional secure accommodation to meet known demands, it would be premature to undertake an architectural experiment whose value must depend on the success of a new type of régime, particularly since this could not be assessed for many years after the new establishment had been opened.

The programme has so far been concentrated on three main requirements: accommodation for convicted young offenders, remand centres, and additional secure and open accommodation for adults. In considering the problems of a secure establishment the Development Group decided to start by examining the design of a training prison for adult recidivists rather than a borstal or remand centre, simply because the design problems are rather less complicated. This was convenient, since it was necessary at this stage of the work to make a very detailed examination of existing methods

of construction and standards of security. Many of the improvements incorporated in the Blundeston design, such as the arrangement of the cell block and cell, the design of cell doors and furniture, and the new type of cell window, can be incorporated in other types of secure building; but it was never the intention that the general design of Blundeston should be used indiscriminately for establishments required for other purposes. This design will be followed in the other training prisons, for which sites have been chosen to give a wide coverage over the whole country, but in the remand centres and borstals and in establishments for women and girls there will be considerable variations from the Blundeston design to meet the special requirements. Other modifications may need to be introduced as the programme develops.

On the Blundeston design itself, the main point of criticism is the size of the cell block. Both Mr. Madge and Mr. Fairweather assume that all seventy-five men will be required to associate together in the cell block outside working hours. In practice, however, many of them will be taking part in educational or other activities, for which provision is made in the central section of the prison, and men who wish to go to their cells will be allowed to do so, as they are in the existing central and training prisons. It is considered that the provision made for association rooms in the cell block will be adequate for those men who make use of it. The suggestion that separate association rooms should be provided on each floor of the cell block is open to two main objections; it is not necessarily desirable that men serving long sentences should be required to associate together in small groups over long periods, and the arrangement would greatly increase the difficulties of supervision.

The new features in design are the product of close co-operation between architect and client, both of whom have contributed to them. Account has also been taken of recent work in foreign countries, and the Development Group visited several Scandinavian establishments, including those mentioned by Mr. Fairweather. It was found that in general the experience of other countries is more valuable on points of detail than on the general principles of design, which are affected by differences in the type of inmates to be accommodated and by social and geographical conditions.

The new designs may be regarded as a realisation in modern terms of the requirements of treatment in secure conditions in its present state of development in this country. Changes in treatment may bring with them changes in architecture, and research into treatment methods is developing rapidly. But at the present stage of progress architectural planning must be based on existing experience. With over 7,000 men sleeping three in a cell in the closed prisons the need for additional accommodation is too urgent to await the results of basic research, which must take several years to complete.

CURRENT SURVEY

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

CURRENT RESEARCH LXXV

(*Continued from Vol. I, p. 237*)

DELINQUENT SUBCULTURES IN EAST LONDON

(1) *Name of University Department*: Sociology Department, London School of Economics.

(2) *Subject of Research*: To test recent American theorisation on delinquency and opportunity.[1]

Method: (a) *statistical*: analysis and comparison of all indictable and selected non-indictable offences committed by males and females between the ages of eight and twenty-five in two East London boroughs in the year 1959–60.

(b) *interview*: 100 twenty-one-year-old males in each borough to be interviewed on the basis of random sample selection from the electoral registers.

(c) *participant observation*: field work to be carried out in each borough with adolescents, with a view to eliciting their expression of attitudes and values, and in order to observe their schemes of behaviour and general social orientation:

Material from (b) and (c) will be gathered with the intention of clarifying and adding to information existing in this country on:

(i) delinquent subcultures;
(ii) youth culture;
(iii) the gang;
(iv) the concept of anomie.

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?*: Sociology Department, London School of Economics. *Research worker*: David M. Downes, B.A.; Supervisor: Dr. T. P. Morris.

(4) *Commenced*: October 1960. *Completion expected*: December 1962.

(5) No publication so far.

[1] Set out in two principal works: Cohen, A. K., *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956. Cloward, R. A., and Ohlin, L. E., *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs*, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1961.

NOTES

THE WORK OF THE EUROPEAN COMMITTEE ON CRIME PROBLEMS

HUGH J. KLARE

IN 1958 the Council of Europe set up a committee of experts in order to examine European crime problems; to draft certain conventions which would facilitate dealing with offenders in the countries of Europe which belong to the Council of Europe; and to undertake studies and make recommendations which could be followed by these countries.

It is perhaps useful if at this point something is said about the Council of Europe. This organisation is political in character and is composed of fifteen Western European countries. It was set up in 1949 in the hope of furthering European co-operation and integration and consists of a Parliamentary Assembly, to which member countries send a certain number of parliamentarians; a Committee of Ministers (the Foreign Secretaries and Ministers of Foreign Affairs or senior officials appointed to act on their behalf); and the Secretariat-General. The pattern is clear: at one time it was hoped to build a sort of embryo European parliament, a European government and a European civil service. In practice, however, the Parliamentary Assembly is only consultative and cannot legislate, but only make recommendations. The Committee of Ministers is not a Government but merely a Committee of Ministers of Sovereign States; and the Secretariat-General is not a European civil service but what it says—the executive body of the Council of Europe.

At some stage in the Council's life it was considered useful to create committees of experts, usually for the specific purpose of drawing up conventions to which all the countries belonging to the Council of Europe could adhere and which would constitute certain steps in the direction of European integration. This has enabled the Council to get on with the work of a technical nature which the Parliamentary Assembly was not designed to cope with.

One such committee is the European Committee on Crime Problems.[1] Since it was set up it has formed six sub-committees:

1. A sub-committee dealing with traffic offences. The purpose of this sub-committee was to draft a European convention which would enable nationals of one of the member countries committing a traffic offence in another to be dealt with by the courts of this latter country; or, conversely, for the courts of the country of origin to be empowered—on receipt of the requisite documents—to deal with

[1] Hereafter referred to as the E.C.C.P.

such a traffic offender on his return. In view of the considerable increase in motor traffic in Europe, such a provision is clearly useful and would make it possible for many traffic offenders to be dealt with who at the moment escape scot-free simply because they have committed the offences in a country other than the country of origin. The draft convention is important also because, if it is accepted and ratified, it would constitute a small but not unimportant infringement on national sovereignty. The sub-committee has completed its deliberations and there is good hope that the convention can soon be submitted for signature and eventual ratification. The United Kingdom has not taken part in the work of this sub-committee.

2. A sub-committee dealing with electoral, civil and social rights of prisoners. This sub-committee has based itself on the Standard Minimum Rules for Prisoners established by the United Nations. It has taken these rules somewhat further and has produced a set of recommendations outlining the electoral, civil and social rights of prisoners. The recommendations were approved by the plenary meeting of the E.C.C.P. in December 1960.

3. A sub-committee dealing with certain aspects of juvenile delinquency in post-war Europe. The sub-committee produced a report partly based on a questionnaire which it established and sent to the member countries and partly on existing literature on the subject. The report was printed by the Council of Europe in English and in French, and in the U.K. is available from the Stationery Office (price 6s.).

4. A sub-committee on after-care of ex-prisoners. This sub-committee is now considering a draft convention on the supervision of provisionally released ex-prisoners. The convention would enable the courts and/or other proper authorities of one member country of the Council of Europe to carry out the supervision of ex-prisoners provisionally released (or released on licence) who were sentenced and who served their sentence in another such country. The legal principles underlying this convention are in certain respects similar to those underlying the convention on traffic offences. The U.K. is not taking part in work on this convention. The sub-committee has, however, another task, and that is to consider the after-care of definitely released ex-prisoners. For this purpose an expert consultant has for some time now been visiting the various countries concerned in order to get a clear idea of the after-care arrangements in these countries, and she will submit a report together with recommendations.

5. A sub-committee dealing with capital punishment and its alternative. This sub-committee has been studying the death penalty and its alternative in the member countries of the Council of Europe. Of these, the

U.K., France and Turkey retain the death penalty; the others have either abolished it, or have allowed it to fall into desuetude.

6. Recently a new sub-committee was set up to study the selection and training of prison staff. The sub-committee will issue a report and make recommendations.

In addition the E.C.C.P., at the request of a recommendation made by the Parliamentary Assembly, has set up an exchange system for prison personnel. Under this exchange system, which is likely to be started sometime this year, members of the prison service of one member country of the Council of Europe may be seconded for a limited period to the prison service of another such country, in order to study treatment and training methods.

With the expansion of the U.N. European Consultative Group for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders at Geneva into a world group owing to the fact that Communist countries are now prepared to co-operate in this field, there ought not to be any overlapping between the work of the Council of Europe and that of the U.N. For some time now the U.N. have favoured the development of regional groups, and although it is clear that the U.N. cannot withdraw from all responsibility in the field of the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders in Europe, it is equally clear that the E.C.C.P. looks like emerging as the main inter-governmental body to deal with specifically European problems. This has the advantage that certain questions can be studied in rather greater detail than was perhaps possible for the U.N. Secondly, the action of the Council of Europe may make co-operation on certain penal and legal questions much more effective than would be possible for an inter-governmental organisation of a not specifically European character. The importance of this new type of co-operation is underlined by the proposal made by the E.C.C.P. at its plenary meeting in December 1960 to call for a conference of European Ministers of Justice sometime in the spring of 1961.

One of the proposals which will come up at this conference is the creation of a European Criminological Centre—another recommendation made by the E.C.C.P. The functions of such a Centre would be to obtain information on current and planned research from all national institutes, centres and universities which undertake criminological research; to disseminate information on such research, with special reference to the methodology of research (partly through the publication of a European Criminological Research Bulletin); to suggest means of co-ordinating future research, where this seems indicated by the fact that similar or the same phenomena are being studied in a number of countries; and to promote criminological research in ways that seem most suitable for the circumstances of the particular case.

If this proposal is given approval by the proposed conference of European Ministers of Justice and is eventually implemented by the Council of Europe,

an important and hopeful new step forward may have been taken which might enable research workers in all the member countries of the Council of Europe to work more closely together and perhaps to deepen their research techniques.

THE LAST EXECUTION IN DENMARK

KLAS LITHNER

IN the never-ceasing discussion on capital punishment it is sometimes seen that different authors quote their cases from each other without verifying their reliability. Consequently some myths have been circulating for a considerable time, before they were proved wrong. Thus Sellin has recently succeeded in laying the ghosts of "the 72,000 hangings during the reign of Henry VIII."[1] Not long ago another example was found of much less numerical importance, but of a more recent date and of some interest to Scandinavians.

In his *The History of Capital Punishment*[2] George Ryley Scott gives an entirely wrong description of the last execution in Denmark, which for the sake of correctness should be quoted verbatim:

> "It is interesting to note that it was due to one of these mishaps, such as both M. Sanson and M. Louis mention, that capital punishment was abolished in Denmark. In 1887, the leader of a gang of highway robbers, by name Russmussen, was sentenced to death. At that time the Danish mode of execution was decapitation. The executioner, as not infrequently happened in such cases, was in a drunken state. He missed his mark, the keen-bladed axe striking the victim's shoulder. Again the same thing happened, and it was not until the third attempt that the head fell from the body. An inquiry was demanded, and it was because of this incident and the disclosures at the subsequent inquiry that King Christian IX swore that, as long as he lived, no further execution, either public or private, should take place in Denmark."

Scott gives as his source Violet Van Der Elst, *On the Gallows*,[3] which unfortunately has been inaccessible to me both in the United States and Scandinavia. However, the real circumstances were the following.

No one by the name of Rasmussen (Russmussen is an impossible Danish name) was sentenced to death, much less executed, after 1865 for robbery. No one at all was executed in 1887. The next to last execution, on November

[1] Thorsten Sellin, "Two Myths in the History of Capital Punishment," *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, Vol. 50, No. 2, July–August, 1959, pp. 114–116.
[2] London, Torchstream Press, 1950, p. 178.
[3] London, Doge Press, 1937, p. 250.

22, 1882, of Anders Nielsen, called Saellender, shows some of the features given in Scott's description. Thus the first two blows struck the neck of the victim, and only the third severed the head from the trunk. As the execution was public, there was a general outcry. According to the official inquiry ordered by the Department of Justice the executioner had slipped on the ground, but had not been drunk, and death had resulted from the first blow. One Member of Parliament without result proposed a change in the method of execution, to the use of a guillotine within a prison. It is very improbable that King Christian IX swore that there would be no more executions in Denmark, as he in 1892 confirmed the death sentence of the Supreme Court on Jens Nielsen, who was executed as the last case in Denmark on November 8, 1892.[4] Besides, capital punishment was not legally abolished in Denmark until 1933, long after the death of Christian IX.[5]

A NEW JOURNAL

MEDICINE, SCIENCE AND THE LAW

THIS Journal is the official organ of the new British Academy of Forensic Sciences, founded "to encourage the study, improve the practice and advance the knowledge of the forensic sciences." Published as a quarterly by Messrs. Sweet & Maxwell, London, its annual rate of subscription is £3 3s. 0d. and each number costs 17s. 6d. The first issue, dated October 1960, consists of articles, a section on "Law for the Scientist," Abstracts and References, Books and Publications, Current Research. The articles in this issue are partly medical, partly legal. Of considerable interest to our readers will be Dr. Glanville Williams' illuminating paper on "Diminished Responsibility," with special reference to psychopaths and to the all-important problem of sentencing in cases of diminished responsibility, culminating in the statement that, as the result of the passing of the Homicide Act, 1957, and its interpretation by the courts, "we now have two forms of life imprisonment, depending on the same legal provisions but different in purpose and practical effect: life imprisonment with punitive intent, where the prisoner will probably be kept for a substantial period (though he will be unlucky to be kept for longer than ten or fifteen years by way of mixed punishment and prevention, afterwards being released), and life imprisonment without punitive intent, where the prisoner will be released immediately it seems safe, no

[4] Stener Grundtvig, Dödsdommene i Danmark 1866–92 med oplysning om de stedfundne benaadninger og Höjesterets stilling till disse m.m. (Köbenhavn, J. Frimodts forlag, 1893, pp. 142–7 and 273–4) and S. Tage-Jensen, Danske Kriminalsager 1838–1938 (Odense, Bogforlaget Norden, 2nd edition, 1943, pp. 117 and 169).

[5] Royal Commission on Capital Punishment 1949–1953. Report (London, H.M.S.O., 1953, pp. 354–5).

question of punishment affecting the date of discharge." For the second category of cases, as Dr. Williams stresses, the proper decision would be not a sentence of life imprisonment but remedial care: "Since the Mental Health Act, the courts have a complete discretion to commit to hospital, provided that the defendant is medically regarded as mentally disordered and the hospital in question is willing to accept the patient. Why were not the two schizophrenics in the cases just related dealt with in this manner?" It is perhaps one of the many weaknesses of the Homicide Act that it gives no guidance to the courts in these important matters. It is indeed a very primitive type of legislative effort.

H. M.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

CRITICAL NOTICE

The Prison as a Social System

Theoretical Studies in Social Organisation of the Prisons. [Social Science Research Council, Pamphlet 15. March 1960. No price stated.]

Occasionally a book appears in the field of criminology and penology that can be read with profit by any of the diverse groups of people interested in these subjects. This is such a book; although by no means easy to read (its argument is complex and its language theoretical), it is profitable both because of the observations made and because of the writers' approach to the problems of prison administration. It is the product of a seminar attended by seven eminent American sociologists and social psychologists. Each, independent of the other, was engaged on a piece of research in a penal institution, and the purpose of the seminar was to bring these field workers together to discuss their research, its problems and conclusions. As a result of these critical discussions a wide area of common theoretical ground was produced, and this volume contains essays written by six of the members of the seminar, applying the common area of the seminar to the author's own sphere of research. A seventh contributor (George Grosser) brings together the observations of the six in a succinct introduction and in a concluding chapter.

Much of the first chapter is well known to readers of Gresham Sykes' book *The Society of Captives*; Sykes and Messinger in this chapter attempt to summarise what is known about the inmate social structure and its normative order. Both the inmate social code and the various inmate roles are described in some detail, and the writers comment that despite variations in the types of institutions studied social scientists have described a "strikingly pervasive value system." This can be summarised by the phrase "non-co-operation with the formal prison administration," and they present a lengthy description of the largely negative components of this code. Sykes and Messinger argue that this code serves an important function for members of the inmate population. In a word it "protects" them from the psychological effects of rejection by society and the various deprivations of prison life, the loss of freedom and status, the physical meanness and sexual isolation. To quote the authors, "the maxims of the inmate code do not simply reflect the individual values of imprisoned criminals; rather, they represent a system of group norms that are directly related to mitigating the pains of imprisonment under a custodial régime having total power." The inmate code by

rejecting the values of prison authority compensates the prisoner for the deprivations he suffers; it protects him against feeling the full effects of his position.

The weakness of this thesis as far as British institutions are concerned is that it fails to explain the type of prisoner which both de Berker and Taylor were describing in the first issue of the *British Journal of Criminology*.[1] Both were discussing the persistent offender who might be termed the social inadequate; for such lonely men, inept at personal relationships, prison with its routine and stability is a refuge. If there are such men, and if they make up a substantial part (statistically or behaviourally) of the prison population, it would seem inappropriate to refer to them "protecting" themselves against the deprivations of prison life and/or social rejection. Either explanation could be used in a more complicated form than the present usage to explain this group, but it would involve assumptions and psychological mechanisms not discussed in the current work.

A second contribution sees the function of the inmate social structure and value system on a different level; it not only helps to maintain the personality systems of prisoners but also maintains the prison as a stable social system. Cloward is impressed by a paradox in institutional life; it is a social system containing an inmate value system hostile to the formal code of the prison officials. This would lead an observer to see the prison social system as one of conflict. The two main groups, officials and inmates, should be in perpetual conflict and as a result disorder, violence and revolt should characterise the institution. However, most penal institutions appear to be stable and peaceful; Cloward wonders why it is that a social situation with all the structural and cultural prerequisites of conflict can be so peaceful. He suggests that there are two ways in which conformity (albeit unwilling) can be obtained from the inmate group; by force and punishment on the one hand and by reward and privilege on the other. Deviance can be controlled by punishing the deviant, or by rewarding virtuous behaviour. However, neither of these seem to Cloward to be adequate explanations of the stability. Force is insufficient because the situation of prisoners, cut off from the world, deprived and segregated, limits the range of punishments that can be used and also limits the effectiveness of additional violence or less liberty. Further, limitations on the possible use of punishment are placed by public opinion and the legislative; the hands of the prison official are tied. Rewards (the mitigation of prison life by privileges) are also inadequate as an explanation of the stable equilibrium of penal institutions both because they are too few and because they cannot achieve their purpose. Again the wider society places limits on the penal system, by denying adequate "reward facilities" because of the demand for both punishment and for detention. More important than this, the most effective reward is "training," etc., and not only are the facilities and staff to

[1] *Brit.J.Crim.*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1960.

train limited, but the outside world denies to the trained prisoner his freedom either by keeping him until the end of his legal sentence or by looking upon him when he is discharged as an " ex prisoner," and thereby preventing him from re-establishing himself.

What then is the source of the stability in what would appear from the descriptions to be a conflict situation? For Cloward it is the inmate structure and culture which denies to the majority of the inmates the right to communicate with the officials, and allows only a small minority access to the staff. This minority is made up of the inmate " merchants " and " politicians." These manipulate their contact to their own advantage and they are the leaders of the inmate population. Here then is a social situation in which the inmate leader depends for his position of advantage and for his status on minimising the amount of contact of staff with the rest of the inmates and upon the existence of the *status quo, i.e.,* a conflict situation but one in equilibrium. The source of the stability (according to Cloward) is the existence of this group of inmates whose position of advantage depends upon the present penal situation being maintained. Any change, whether from inmates (violence) or staff (reform), threatens them and is to be prevented. Therefore although the prison code is hostile to the staff and the system, the inmate leader is committed by self interest to maintaining a system of " peaceful coexistence." As a result Cloward argues that the " inmate élite constitutes the single most important source of social control in the prison."

For a variety of reasons this seems to exaggerate the position. It ignores the extent to which the normative order of the inmate code advocates passive non-co-operation, for example by ideas like " do your own time." The inmate model figure, the " right guy," is a person who keeps out of trouble; here then is a conforming type who is likely to lead to a hostile situation that is non-violent; such a type is likely neither to support nor participate in violence or outbreaks. Further, most inmates want their release; anything likely to prevent release is not encouraged; therefore deviance, violence, unrest, and open aggression to the staff are against the personal and collective value system. Cloward also seems to the reviewer to neglect the role of apathy, habit and disinterest of the inmate population; he seems unaware of the extent to which groups of prisoners are incapable of aggression and the extent to which they have been " institutionalised." Finally there is a *non sequitur* in Cloward's reasoning, because the inmate leader depends for his position upon stability; that stability need not be his creation or the result of his efforts. Further, attempts could be and have been made to break the stability (both by inmate and staff effort) which have succeeded despite opposition of certain inmate figures of high status.

The third article gives evidence in favour both of Cloward's general thesis, and, to some extent, of the criticisms outlined above. McCleery was engaged on a piece of research at a prison in Hawaii during the period when this

prison changed from being primarily concerned with containing the inmates (and as a result was highly authoritarian), to one in which treatment and training became the central aim of the warden. The key to the initial failure of this change and its final success lay in the pattern of communication in the institution. As long as the channels through which information was transmitted from the "yard" to the "centre block" were controlled by authoritarian oriented officers, the "punish-contain" aim defeated any attempts of the warden and the professional staff to introduce effective treatment and training. It was only when the pattern of communication was controlled by treatment oriented workers that the atmosphere in the prison became "therapeutic." One interesting fact in favour of Cloward's thesis was the reaction of many inmates to the change; violence, indiscipline and prison disturbances increased during the early part of the change, indicating that not only were many of the guards against the change but so were many inmates. This might suggest that anything that threatens the existing order threatens the inmate leaders' position, and they react by violence. Although this is not conclusive evidence for Cloward's hypothesis at least it gives confirmatory evidence in his favour. However, the fact that the new régime finally succeeded does not suggest that the influence of the leaders over the remainder of the population was very profound. To over-simplify, appeal could be made over the heads of the leaders to present a new type of institutional régime which removed the structural base for the leaders' power: this succeeded despite efforts of leaders to prevent it. This suggests that although the leaders might be a significant source of stability in the prison, it is unlikely that they are the "single most important source of social control," since their control can be undermined by direct appeal to their followers, *i.e.*, the bulk of the population can be won over to a new régime.

According to McCleery the victory of the "trainers" over the "custodians" was accomplished only when the former managed to control the means of communication. This leads him to conclude that the "pattern of communication in a social system may be considered a functional equivalent of power." If this were so, change in a social system could only be achieved with the voluntary co-operation of the people who control the pattern of communication. If change can be introduced any other way, by taking over, for example, the positions controlling communication, then the communication pattern is only a useful means of achieving power and certainly not the equivalent of power. McCleery's own writing produced evidence against his thesis; a change of penal régime was neither initiated by those individuals in powerful positions (in his sense) nor by converting them, but was achieved by replacing them. "Power" therefore rests outside the means of communication.

Both Cressey and Ohlin discuss from similar viewpoints the same problem, the sources of conflict in current penal practice and the limitations this

conflict places on prisons. Above all they are concerned with the twin duties of prisons, containment and training. Ohlin's task is to describe the various pressure groups outside the institution which limit institutional practice. Little else is said other than to report their diversity and classify them under their general interest of " confining " the offender and of " training " him, the most important addition being the personal belief that of the two sets of competing interests it is the social work influence that will predominate. Ohlin thinks this because it is backed by the philosophy of reform, and this is the philosophy that is beginning to pervade all types of social work, and will, he feels, in the end pervade penal theory. Cressey is concerned with describing the source of the conflict, within present practice, especially between the twin functions of detention and treatment; these he sees as " not merely overlapping, but have entirely different and partly contradictory purposes," one having the society and the victim at the centre of its attention, the other being primarily concerned with needs of the offender. Both writers treat the problem in a descriptive manner, *i.e.*, in terms of pressure and interest groups or in terms of current problems; however, this might be a problem that cannot be reduced to descriptive terms and certainly not reconciled in these terms. This might well be a problem of prescriptions, of ethics and morality, not of statements of facts about pressure group interest and the conflicts of the therapeutic and custodial staff.

Grosser suggests several ways out of this dilemma, a dilemma caused by adding the remedial function to the custodial function rather than replacing one by the other. His most important solution is the suggestion that society should see the problem as one of maximising the efficiency of the system by using the most humane methods available. This seems to the reviewer to skirt the problem, which is at base a philosophical one; can we ever reduce to a single set of justifications our reasons for taking action against deviants and the form of that action? If we cannot other than by over-simplifying the problem, then penal action may always have its internal contradictions.

This book is a most important addition to the literature on social organisation in general, and prison organisation in particular. Its value lies not so much in the correctness of the theories presented and therefore the value of the insights obtained, as in a continual attempt to explain the dynamics of social relationships. These writers have come nearer to explanation of prison relationships than any other penologist and it is to be hoped their example is followed by criminologists in the United Kingdom.

Alan Little

REVIEWS

ORIGINS OF CRIME. A New Evaluation of the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study. By WILLIAM MCCORD AND JOAN MCCORD WITH IRVING KENNETH ZOLA. [New York: Columbia University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1959. xvi and 219 pp. 48s.]

THIS is indeed Cambridge-Somerville revisited. With the financial support of the Ella Lyman Cabot Foundation the authors made a further follow-up study over a second ten-year period, from 1945 to 1955, of five hundred of the boys who had been the case material of the previous investigation, half of them having been "treated" (as this term was understood by that original project), the other half serving as a control group.[1] In 1939, when the boys of the first category were "prepared for treatment," their average age was eleven; when the period of the present investigation was completed in 1955 it was therefore about twenty-seven. The authors' criterion of success or failure was conviction by a court, and they were able to secure the boys' court records for the state of Massachusetts during the research period. Unfortunately, "financial limitations and governmental complications" did not permit investigations to be made of the records of other states beyond the boundaries of Massachusetts. As a check made in 1948 showed that only 10 per cent. of the boys were living outside greater Boston the authors conclude that their Massachusetts records provided a valid criterion for at least 90 per cent. This seems to be a rather hazardous assumption, particularly as we have no idea what may have happened to the boys between 1948 and 1955, and the resulting lack of information may in fact reduce the value of the whole research to an extent which will inevitably remain entirely unknown. We have already to resign ourselves to the existence of a "dark figure" of crime remaining hidden from the authorities. Why should we, possibly without compelling reasons, add to this another "semi-dark" figure of crimes recorded outside the narrow boundaries of one single state of U.S.A.? Even the most perfect statistical techniques cannot be a substitute for accuracy and completeness of the factual material on which the whole of the statistical structure is based. This omission is all the more to be regretted as otherwise this book presents a methodologically perfect model of painstaking and resourceful statistical research, cautiously proceeding from one stage to the next and covering any conceivable eventuality. Another weakness, which is, however, inevitable in control group studies, is the comparative dearth of information for the "untreated" control group. On the other hand, great care was taken to keep the investigators in ignorance as to whether the records they had to evaluate referred to a delinquent or a

[1] See the review of the Cambridge-Somerville Study in *Brit. J. Delinq.* III, No. 3, January 1952.

control case, and as much of the material, *e.g.*, on relations within the family, had been collected already before the onset of delinquency, retrospective bias in interpreting such relations was in so far excluded.

The major object of the study was to find out, first, whether the "treatment" which one half of the sample had received from the staff of the original project had prevented criminality and, secondly, what factors had in fact tended to lead to the commission of crime. The results are too detailed to be reproduced in full. On the whole, they were negative: treatment had failed to prevent either juvenile or adult criminality. This the authors regard as highly discouraging, and they believe that this failure casts "suspicion on many of the preventive methods now used in America." Nevertheless, a few trends emerged which indicated that at least more intensive therapy had succeeded with a few of the boys and that the small rate of success was mainly due to the fact that so very few boys had been receiving this kind of therapy. It was the Cambridge-Somerville project and its staff rather than the ideal of intensive treatment as such that had failed.

The remaining chapters of the book are devoted to a study into the causes of crime in the delinquent group. This, too, is very competently done, but the results are again largely negative. Many of the factors usually regarded as causal were not found to be so. Even here, however, a few significant trends did exist, *e.g.*, in spite of the very strong overall influence of the family atmosphere boys living in a good neighbourhood "tended to channel their frustrations in a non-criminal way" when being members of neglecting families. On the whole, however, the authors are inclined to see the root causes of crime not in the neighbourhood or gang but in the family. As the most hopeful remedial approach they recommend milieu therapy which removed the child for a while from his family and neighbourhood, and they urge "reconsideration of the policy which keeps many boys with their families even when the parents do not wish to have them."

H. M.

RESTITUTION TO VICTIMS OF CRIME. By STEPHEN SCHAFER. Library of Criminology. No. 2. Published under the auspices of the I.S.T.D. [London: Stevens & Sons, Ltd. 1960. 134 pp. 25s.]

IN this comparative study Dr. Schafer points out that in the legal systems of twenty-nine countries we seek in vain for one where the victim of a crime obtains full restitution for his injury. In the rare cases where he found state compensation, the system was not very effective. Where there was no state compensation, the victims could use the civil remedies, and hope that the judgment would be met.

In pre-medieval times, restitution was a living practice. Gradually the community effectively claimed an increasing share of the compensation and

the victim obtained less and less. Today, sympathy is flowing back to the victim.

According to English law, compensation and punishment are in general dealt with separately. The exception is that on the making of a probation order, or absolute or conditional discharge, a court of summary jurisdiction may order the offender to pay damages for injury and compensation to a maximum of £100. A superior court can make the same order, without a limit.

Dr. Schafer comments upon the idea of state compensation to victims of personal violence on a scale similar to that under the industrial injuries scheme, fostered in this country by the late Miss Margery Fry. In the last two years, two private members' Bills have been presented to the House of Commons, to compensate persons injured by certain criminal offences. None of the difficulties which Dr. Schafer raises can persuade me that state compensation is not only a possible, but also a necessary, measure in this country. His warning that before inaugurating such a system an investigation should be made into the relationship between the criminal and his victim and into the statistical risks is very relevant. Let us trust that the Home Secretary is expediting these researches so that legislation may be passed in the very near future.

Jean Graham Hall

CRIME DOCUMENTARIES I—GUENTHER PODOLA. By RUPERT FURNEAUX. [London: Stevens & Sons, Ltd. 1960. xi, 319 pp. 18s. 6d.]

THE trial of Guenther Podola in 1959 for the murder by shooting of a London policeman aroused many heated controversies.

When Podola was arrested he was photographed leaving his hotel under police guard with a jacket covering his head. Later he was detained for three days at St. Stephen's Hospital, not fit to be charged. Questions were asked in the House of Commons concerning the happenings during the six hours spent by Podola at the Chelsea Police Station "which necessitated his removal to hospital on a stretcher." The Home Secretary's answers did not entirely allay suspicions. When Podola appeared at the Magistrates' Court for committal proceedings with a noticeably black eye, ugly rumours of assaults by police were resurgent. A categorical statement by Podola's counsel at that trial, that no allegation was made that Podola was assaulted, did not receive commensurate publicity, and the suspicions were never entirely allayed.

The atmosphere of general interest and public excitement, heightened by the consequent legal implications, is faithfully revived in Rupert Furneaux's book. I commend the tenseness of writing and the economy of phrase.

At the trial a unique legal point was raised as a preliminary issue, *i.e.*,

whether Podola was suffering from a genuine loss of memory covering at least all the relevant events before and at the time of his arrest. Mr. Furneaux deals fully with this plea in bar of trial and the onus of proof. Four doctors diagnosed hysterical amnesia, albeit of a remarkable duration. Two testified that they believed that Podola was feigning. Mr. Furneaux raises some unsolved queries, *e.g.*, how could Podola know that the plea of loss of memory might save him? No such plea in bar of trial has ever been put forward before on a charge of capital murder.

The Court of Criminal Appeal upheld the trial judge in ruling that even if Podola's loss of memory had been found by the jury to be genuine, that did not in itself render Podola so insane that he could not be tried on the indictment. The Attorney-General refused his fiat, therefore the case was never before the House of Lords. Podola was hanged. Mr. Furneaux clarifies and delineates the still remaining medico-legal controversies.

Jean Graham Hall

IN PLACE OF PARENTS. A Study of Foster Care. By GORDON TRASLER, PH.D. [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1960. 242 pp. 25s.]

IN the author's own words, "This book is about foster families. It describes an investigation into the special needs of children and their foster-parents, and into the manner in which these different needs dovetail together to form a satisfying and stable relationship, or conflict to cause tensions and failure. . . ." Probably, few people realise that "there are now in England and Wales nearly 28,000 children" in foster care of one kind or another. Dr. Trasler's thesis amply demonstrates that "although it is not easy to be a good parent to one's own children . . . it is much more difficult to be a good foster parent." For the purpose of this particular piece of research Dr. Trasler selected two groups of foster-home placements—a *study sample* which was composed of children "who had experienced at least one failure in a foster-home" and a *contrast* (to be distinguished from a control) *group* consisting of children who were satisfactorily placed in foster-homes. There were 57 children in the study sample who had between them been subjected to 86 removals from long-stay foster-homes during a three-year period. The contrast group was assessed according to certain carefully selected criteria and the "satisfactory" placements were subjected to the assessment of at least two independent case-workers. A total of 283 placements were so assessed; of these 81 were rated as "excellent" and were finally used as the contrast group.

The main sources of information for the investigation were the child's case-file, direct contacts with the child and his foster-parents, and the child care officer responsible for the case. The author proceeds by use of detailed case-histories to describe some of the problems which may arise between the

child and his foster-parents and which may lead to success or failure in placement. There are excellent and informative chapters on The Effects of Rejection, Foster Homes Without Affection, Foster-Parents' Expectations, and Disturbed Foster-Parents. The main findings are summarised statistically in a separate chapter, and throughout the text there are most useful references to previously published material. There is much in this book that is of importance to the social scientist and administrator, but it is of particular value to the case-worker involved in finding suitable foster-homes. Dr. Trasler's comments on case-work practice are particularly penetrating. There has been some tendency in the past for case-workers to stress the importance of affection *per se* in foster-home placements. The author's comments on page 69 should make us think again " . . . the rejected child tends to find it difficult to make demonstrations of affection, and if he is placed in a family group in which such displays are common, he tends to feel inadequate as a result. . . ."

There is a further valuable aspect of research of this kind. The somewhat unique conditions of foster-home placement enable us to investigate at some depth the special features of child-parent relationship and the experiences of the foster-parents themselves afford a useful opportunity of studying the normal needs of parents in their relationships with their children.

One may instance a few of the many findings of this piece of research. First, that the length of time in residential care prior to foster-home placement is crucial to its success. Secondly, that slightly older foster-parents (who have already raised their own family successfully) are better than those whose needs to offer foster care arise for special reasons (such as companionship for themselves or for their " own " child). Third, a more searching appraisal of foster-parents' motives is required. One might be led to the conclusion that many of these findings, stated briefly and baldly in this way, are already well known. This would do less than justice to Dr. Trasler's careful analysis of the problems involved since he has attempted to provide proof to support what have been intuitive assumptions hitherto.

Dr. Trasler claims that this research is a " modest beginning." He should not be so diffident. His book is a most significant contribution to the study of child-care and, in addition, it will be of much value to all who are interested in the dynamics of family relationships—normal and abnormal.

Herschel A. Prins

DELINQUENT AND NEUROTIC CHILDREN. By IVY BENNETT. [London: Tavistock Publications. 1960. xii + 532 pp. 45s.]

WHEN Dr. Bennett embarked on this intensive study, one of her main aims was to test certain aspects of psycho-analytic theory about the development of neurotic and delinquent children, using some of the systematic methods

and tests of general psychology. These she applied to the case histories and data of observation obtained from fifty delinquent and fifty neurotic boys and girls observed at rural Child Guidance clinics. The amount of corroboration obtained of hypotheses derived from earlier psycho-analytical investigations convinced her and her co-workers of the need "to combine the outlook of dynamic psychology with the technical methods of modern research work." In general, her results support the psycho-analytical hypothesis that the major influences determining a child's development and behaviour are to be sought in his very early years.

So far so good: and it is of additional interest to the student of dynamic psychology to note also the occasions on which the expected confirmation was not forthcoming. In other words, her survey goes some way to correct certain psycho-analytical biases (or prejudices) regarding the characteristic reactions of delinquent and neurotic children respectively.

But it is impossible to embark on an investigation of this kind and, in particular, to contrast two specially selected groups of children, without involving oneself in the major problems of child psychiatry. Indeed, the great merit of Dr. Bennett's book is precisely that it constitutes a challenge to child psychiatrists, compelling them to clarify their ideas on the classification of mental and behaviouristic disorders in children, their etiology, the respective roles of constitutional, endopsychic and environmental (familial and social) factors, and the directions in which prevention and treatment should follow.

Of these various matters the most significant is undoubtedly the classification of mental disorders. Here Dr. Bennett has been influenced by the work on delinquency carried out by the late Dr. Kate Friedlander, whose original classifications she adopts and expands.

To be sure, by no means all readers will be prepared to accept this psychiatric scheme in its entirety. Some may consider it at the same time too wide and too limited. Too wide because it comprises the whole gamut of mental and behaviouristic reactions without sufficient discrimination of types: and too limited because, throughout her book, the author is at pains to underline the contrast between delinquent and neurotic behaviour (which latter she refers to sometimes as "neuroticism," a confusing caption of meagre clinical value). Other critics may feel that in the absence of a "normal" control group the delinquency/neurosis antithesis tends to spill over its natural boundaries and to encroach on behaviouristic reactions, which, however disordered from the adult observer's point of view, can be regarded as the "normal abnormalities" of children. Others again will no doubt maintain that the postulation of a group of "primary" antisocial behaviour disorders begs the more important question of a "predelinquent stage" or "latent" delinquency, as Aichhorn would have called it. They may think that the main flaw in Dr. Bennett's classification is the absence of a developmental

backbone. But whatever their objections, they must concede that the author has produced an invaluable compendium of information and observation, well documented and persuasively written. If at times the meal is a little too rich to be readily digested by the general delinquency worker, that is a fault that can be easily remedied; it would indeed be well worth the effort if Dr. Bennett would now produce an abridged edition in which her main observations and conclusions were condensed to suit the needs of those workers in the delinquency field who are unfamiliar with the psycho-analytical approach.

E. G.

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CORRESPONDENCE

THE EDITORS,
The British Journal of Criminology,

Sirs,

Corporal punishment as a treatment of delinquents is again attracting attention and discussion. The whole subject is one of difficulty because it is hard to find factual data. Statistical data in so far as they exist seem to be only in the form of raw figures, from which too many questions cannot be answered at all; and in such cases there is always the added danger that statistics will be made to bear constructions which, logically, no one has any right to put on them.

Where there is a lack of good evidence it becomes very easy for all concerned to fall back on special pleading of some kind, which should also be inadmissible. Many, it is obvious, are willing to make emphatic statements based on their own experience, but this may not be typical. Memory is selective and the cases which a given person has most clearly in mind, and which form the basis of his opinions may be a far from fair or random sample of all the cases which he has had opportunity to observe. Again, it is by no means certain that observations made in one environment will agree fully with observations made in a different one. In all questions of the behaviour of the individual it is most important to remember—and far too often forgotten—that individual behaviour is played against a social background and that a different background commonly leads to different individual tactics.

Observations of this kind are illustrations of the general principle that it is always dangerous to argue from the individual case or from a small sample. Large-scale statistical observations which unfortunately do not and cannot

exist might be capable of indicating methods of which one can say that (a) they would be effective in most cases; (b) they would definitely be ineffective in a smaller number of cases. At that point one would know how to proceed in general, and attention could be deflected to the problem of how to detect the minority to whom the general method is inapplicable so as to ensure that they, and they only, received some different treatment.

If this contention is accepted, then, setting aside a number of persons who hold completely dogmatic views of one kind or another because their thinking is emotional rather than realistic, there would appear to be two rival modes of thought:

A. The existing methods of treatment are not to be considered unsatisfactory. It is inevitable that failures will occur. Such cases might have been better dealt with by some other method than that applied. It is not necessary to assume that corporal punishment would be the best method, or the only effective method in such cases. It is not necessarily even a good method.

B. The existing methods are to be considered statistically unsatisfactory. A system including corporal punishment would be statistically satisfactory.

But as good evidence is not available, both sides, unless further evidence of some kind can be adduced, are begging the question. In particular, one can but feel that support for corporal punishment is largely due to a dissatisfaction with the present because delinquents and delinquent actions tend to abound. One person says something must be done about this and flies to the easy assumption that harsher methods must be used. Others begin to chime in, each in turn convincing himself by a process of selective memory that he can remember boys who would certainly have been improved by a sound thrashing, and dragging in emotional appeals of which the most dangerous, because of its logical pitfalls, is the argument from the use of corporal punishment in public schools. In fact it should be obvious that the public schoolboy is accepting a kind of social contract in the matter, by his own attitude in response showing an acceptance of traditions and sense of participation in the community which in turn reacts with a tacit admission that he, taking his punishment in the right spirit, is a sound member of the group. The position of a delinquent boy in court is at the opposite extreme in all these respects and nothing could be more foolish than to argue that a beating as such has a definite kind of effect, irrespective of all the other factors making up the situation in which it occurs. The true analogue of a delinquent within the school structure is not the boy who knows how to take a beating—or who accepts it as a painful but now inevitable result of his actions, inevitable because he can only evade it by going outside the group—but the boy whose reactions are such that it cannot be done without

leading to some kind of quite impossible situation, with the result that he is probably ejected from the school instead. Such a boy *vis-à-vis* the school is truly asocial or antisocial. Apart from the considerations already suggested there is additional food for thought in this, that the school beating is not a remedy for serious ills, but inapplicable to them.

The reason for opposing those who would restore corporal punishment does not, of course, lie in the fact that their arguments often turn out to be mere emotional appeals. That sentimentalists support a certain cause has no bearing whatever on its validity; reasons do not cease to exist simply because there are careless people who do not trouble to find them out, preferring to express their personal feelings instead. The crux of the whole matter is logical. It is assumed that the present system does not work well enough, therefore it must be amended and then it will work better; but, curiously enough, this is an error in thought. It is quite simply not true that an alteration to a process of limited efficiency will necessarily promote greater efficiency. It may be worse even. It is hard to convince certain individuals of this because they are energetic. They argue that something must be done and shall be done: they are not going to sit back and be beaten by circumstances. But this is an emotion and not a thought: and to do something new in passion or in fear, or even out of a will to mastery, can be a very dangerous error. There are times when one should try to restrain such individuals from plunging forward, particularly if, as in this instance, they will not themselves be the only sufferers from any mistakes they make.

There are several reasons for fearing that a return to corporal punishment may be such a mistake. In the first place the calculations as to what may be expected of a delinquent who is involved are not impressive. There appears to be an assumption that such people have a type of cowardice which will lead to fear and hence to deterrence. The only basis for this belief seems to be a suggestion that they are violent towards the old or weak but fear to pick on anyone their own weight. It might be a useful corrective to this to consider data arising from the interrelations and conflicts between delinquent youths themselves. Consideration needs to be given to questions of how far there is an acceptance of violence as part of existence, a tendency to any group ethic of personal toughness, and incidentally any tendency, which undoubtedly exists and tends to spread, to self-visualisation as a member not of what is usually considered as society but as a member of a sub-group, with limited age-range and with separate standards, habits, tastes and even fashions. The factionalisation involved, which one might describe as the formation of a separate adolescent culture, with tentacles reaching out far beyond the delinquent groups, has not yet progressed so far as in America, but is extending; a dubious tendency which incidentally is not suppressed but enlarged under relatively violent counter-action if the American model is any criterion.

Apart from this, it is unlikely on the face of it that relatively timid or sheeplike characters can ever launch far into delinquency. As one tightens the threads of such arguments as these it becomes increasingly clear that there is a strong probability that the reintroduction of corporal punishment is merely going to eliminate or deter some of the weaker characters, who can probably be as effectively deterred without it, while proving ineffective against the harder and those who are more concerned, in some cases one might almost say more arrogantly concerned, to prove to themselves and the members of their sub-group that they can take what comes. It is no gain to introduce methods which do away with a certain amount of sneak thieving and petty destruction while actually increasing the amount of sheer violence. To exchange fifty pilferers for ten young thugs is a loss, not a gain. And if the thesis so far expounded is correct, this is quite likely to be the case. One cannot in fact take a member of an alien sub-group, who in any case acknowledges no real personal allegiance to society as a whole, and attempt to treat him in a manner which says, in effect, "the one who has the whip hand strikes out," without inviting the response, "if that's how you like it, you can have it that way."

Investigations by Dr. Grünhut, published in a recent issue of the *British Journal of Delinquency*,[1] on the results of treatment in detention centres ought to discourage slack optimism as to the effects of empirically designed methods. It is, too, easy to find historical support for the belief that violence is generated as an answer to violence. A very slight sociological study of the eighteenth century in England should be convincing enough, where the only moral seems to have been that the more we hang them the tougher they become.

To arguments such as those above, the most obvious answer of the adherent of corporal punishment is to ask what is to be done. The reply of this writer can come another time. But meanwhile the answer could be put this way: when taking a stroll on Beachy Head one does not jump over the cliff in the hope that the sands may be nice and soft because one temporarily cannot see a path.

Yours, etc.

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[1] *Brit.J.Delinq.*, X, 3, 178.

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